

10th March 1947]

Constitution of University Grants Committee.

7 Q.—SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO : Will the Hon. the Minister for Education be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government have constituted a University Grants Committee and if so, what the personnel and terms of reference to that Committee are;

(b) whether this Committee will have any part in the expansion and planned development of the Universities in the Province; and

(c) whether the proceedings of the Committee are made available to the public?

A.—(a) Yes.

Its personnel are—

(1) The Hon. the Minister for Education—*Chairman.*

Members.

(2) The Hon. Mr. Justice P. V. Rajamannar, Judge, High Court of Judicature, Madras.

(3) Sri A. Kaleswara Rao, M.L.A.

(4) Sri Mamidipudi Venkata Rangaiya.

(5) Rao Bahadur Dr. M. R. Guruswami Mudaliyar.

(6) Sri K. Madhava Menon, M.L.C.

(7) Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar, C.I.E.

The functions of the Committee are—

(1) to examine new schemes proposed by the universities and to advise Government in regard to the allocation of grants to them;

(2) to encourage private benefactions to universities; and

(3) to prevent undesirable competition between the universities and to secure as much uniformity and co-ordination as possible on university policy.

(b) Yes.

(c) No.

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

II.—GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BUDGET FOR
THE YEAR 1947-48—*cont.*

* HAMEED SULTAN MARICAIR SAHIB BAHADUR :—, 11-20 a.m.
“ Sir, the Hon. the Premier deserves our congratulations for having been able to present this Budget for 1947-48 himself, to us, with his speech. During the last week of February there was a storm in the ministerialist circles and one was not sure whether the same Captain will continue at the helm to steer the course of the ship of budget in the sea of Finance in our Province. Some of us thought whether the meetings of the Council and the Assembly would have had to be postponed, though for a short while, as it has happened

[Hameed Sultan Maricair Sahib Bahadur] [10th March 1947]

in the Punjab as you know. The position in the Punjab of the political parties is different no doubt, but still in shaping the financial policy in the provinces and in the centre for the economic, social and industrial uplift of our country, the ideals to be set before us and the schemes to be pursued for achieving the same are more or less alike. The Hon. the Premier has been guided by the policies of his party in shaping the budget. Some of the items for which he has provided expenditure, for example, village reconstruction, Khadi scheme, Harijan uplift—however laudable and worthy the objects—are of doubtful utilitarian value unless all the communities and parties in this Province are associated in active working of those schemes. On the whole I consider that this is a fair and good budget capable of suitable alterations for our criticism and adoption after receiving our suggestions. Of course, we in this House have no right to propose cut-motions, but that defect does not nor has been intended to deprive us of our rights as elected representatives of the people in this Upper Chamber to discuss the budget thread-bare to make necessary and suitable suggestions for its modifications in such a manner as to make it serve the people in all ameliorative measures. With these general remarks I shall proceed to get into details with respect to the many items in the budget.

“ First I would like to mark my sense of disappointment in the niggardly provision made for the promotion of the Muslim Education. From this side of the House here, and in the Assembly, the members of the Opposition have been ever continuing to press the claims of the Muslims for a fair deal not only in every other thing, but more particularly in the matter of preservation of their religion and culture. What has been done or is proposed to be done in this regard? In no uncertain terms during the debate at the time of the passing of the budget in last August, we indicated our desire that the Government should extend its hand of goodwill and friendliness to us, recognizing Urdu as the regional language, at least in those parts of the Presidency where there is a large number of Muslims speaking that language.

(At this stage Mr. President occupied the Chair.)

“ You know, Sir, what a handicap it is to the children born and bred up in that language and culture to be compelled to give up their mother-tongue while learning the several subjects taught to them in an altogether different language. This is as bad as the compulsion of having to learn the subjects in English, a state of things that has been condemned boldly by our patriots, so insistently that for all the non-Muslims their mother-tongue Tamil or Telugu or Canarese or Malayalam has come to occupy the place of pride as the first language. I ask where is the difficulty in recognizing Urdu as the regional language. I ask whether it will not help in the not distant future of evolving a common *lingua franca* for all-India, because whether it is Urdu script or Hindu script the spoken and written language is almost the same. Without a knowledge of Hindustani, neither can we serve in the armed forces nor can we successfully carry on commercial correspondence among

10th March 1947] [Hameed Sultan Maricair Sahib Bahadur]

the Provinces in the greater part of India. At least for these reasons and upon this ground I hope the Hon. Minister for Education will lose no time in introducing Urdu as a regional language.

“ As regards religious instruction in the schools, why don't you shed your indifference and pursue an attitude of active co-operation? Differences of language and religion do not matter. You have recognised separate institutions for Muslim boys and girls. You give grants-in-aid to the schools and colleges run by Christian Missionaries. You recognise and aid purely Hindu educational institutions. In each of these, sometimes here and there, there is a moral lesson class in which its own special religious concepts are emphasized to the exclusion or disparagement of others. What I would suggest is that in every school and college there ought to be employed teachers of the respective religions and thus the pupils attending the schools may not forget that in all that we do, we are answerable to God above. I do not want—I hope none here wants—that our people should become atheists, irreligious and down-right materialists, with what results you can too easily see from the fate of certain Western countries. Gloating over their advancement of scientific knowledge and discovery, they forgot that they have a soul, and have invented the atomic bomb for the destruction and annihilation of mankind. In England recently the Archbishop of Canterbury expressed his concern over the threatening danger of irreligion becoming the habit of many people leading to disastrous results in individual, national, and international relationships. He gave a timely warning. I hope that this note of warning will not have fallen on deaf ears. It is therefore my belief and hope that the Government of the country will dissociate themselves from the attitude of religious neutrality followed by British power and adopt in a spirit of co-operation schemes for the furtherance and advancement of all the religious cultures in this land so as to bring about the greatest unity possible. Thus can we knit our people together, giving them opportunities to respect each other's culture and religion.

“ Coming to the expenditure of the Public Health Department, the provision made is too meagre. The state of health of the average man, woman or child is far from normal. The incidence of disease is high. There is infantile mortality. Epidemics do not seem to have abated their fury. Witness the reports of plague, cholera, typhoid, etc. No serious steps are being taken to prevent the recurrence of epidemics. The preventive side of the maintenance of public health is being woefully neglected. I put it to the Hon. Minister for Public Health to direct a survey to be made regarding the physical condition of every member of the public, i.e., to compile a sort of health census. This may be done by requesting the medical profession to give its assistance on an honorary and voluntary basis. I have no doubt that inspired by the high ideals of the profession the doctors, will come forward to make the survey on an up-to-date, accurate and exhaustive scale. Allied to this preventive side, is the problem of providing the people with clean, wholesome, nutritious food. It may be said that in these days of

[Hameed Sultan Maricair Sahib Bahadur] [10th March 1947]

scarcity of foodstuffs, my suggestion, even if accepted, will only be the dream of a visionary. However, the advantage of such a Health Survey are manifold. It will be something like taking stock and preparing an inventory in a running business. It will show us our defects and to remedy them we may devise short term and long term plans. In any event, the result of such a survey will be useful and instructive and will mark a milestone in the road of our progress towards the attainment of a strong and healthy nation. As for the curative side of the medicine, there is already an endeavour to revive the indigenous systems of Unani, Ayurveda and Siddha treatments. They have to be encouraged and put on a scientific basis. The average expenditure *per capita* of the population is low. With the prospect of all-round prohibition, resulting in loss of revenue, notwithstanding the introduction of fresh sources of taxation, I am afraid it will take a long time for us to make the necessary contribution in terms of adequate grants under this head. Hence, it is necessary that the cheap indigenous systems which are homely and quite within the reach of the poor should be encouraged. While dealing with this topic, I am at once reminded of the need for enforcing the sanitation in towns and villages. My own view is that the Health Department is not doing its work as sincerely and enthusiastically as it can and ought to. Red-tapism which is a hindrance to efficiency and lasting results in any department pervades this department also. We require men with drive and initiative who will be inspired with high ideals of service. I am not speaking of any particular individual in the department but the general impression left in the mind of a layman is certainly of the kind I refer to, i.e., indifference. I do not wish to quote specific instances of which I can give many from my own experience of the living conditions in the mufassal and Madras City. There is something wrong somewhere. It is time the cause of the disease in this department is immediately diagnosed and proper remedy applied without delay.

" Sometime ago, I read an article on public health engineering. It explains how the system of maintenance of roads and drainage channels is connected with the standard of public health in the locality. Look at our roads full of dust which are thrown up when a vehicle moves. What do these dust particles contain—thousands and millions of microbes, injurious and deleterious to the public safety. Cannot you have a Public Safety Ordinance or rather a well formulated bill to arrest them and deport them? What about the inundation and accumulation of flood water during the rainy season? Do not the rivers Cooum and Buckingham canal still emit stinking smell and thus mar, nay infect, the beautiful city of Madras? Let not the members of the Government or others here think that I am painting a very lurid picture. If only we give a silent thought to these unhappy circumstances which exist in our midst, we feel appalled by the magnitude of the task before us to set right this state of affairs. I would suggest continuous door to door propaganda by the health staff. The co-operation of non-officials can be had for the work. I know cases where such co-operation was volunteered,

10th March 1947] [Hameed Sultan Maricair Sahib Bahadur]

but the health authorities of a particular place said that such efforts will only end in vain. We are having many committees for many purposes. There may be a difference of opinion as to whether they serve their purpose well. Let us add one more committee to achieve the end in view for improving the standard of public health by propaganda for the use of the healthy habits.

" In this connection, I wish to say that in reconstituting local boards and municipal councils by fresh election, the number of seats allotted to the various communities particularly to Muslims and other minorities should not only be increased, but separate electorates should be formed. Whatever may be said about the benefit of the adult suffrage in other countries, for us in India we have not yet reached nor do I hope that we shall ever reach that condition of mind of the common man where he will forget his religion, his culture, his community in the ordinary affairs of the daily life. This has been caused by the age-old fear and suspicion of each other's motive in competitive life of struggle for existence.

" We cannot eradicate this feeling—you may call it an evil in a way. Even in other countries you find such a cleavage of class interests, commercial interests and so forth and for smooth working of public and social life, we have to exercise the greatest amount of toleration, give and take policy, etc. So, it is that I urge you to recognise this fact that communal electorates are the only and the best solution for solving the problem of mutual distrust and fear. You have got it in the Provincial and Central Assemblies, also in the Constituent Assembly and in many of the Indian State constitutions. Why should you object to its introduction in the local boards and municipal councils? This is how you can allay the fears of the minority.

" In the matter of revision of salaries of the non-gazetted Government servants recently ordered by the Government there is no uniformity of the application of any scientific principle. There may be differences in the responsibility involved in several posts. But that should not be the reason for making any undue distinction in the scale of salaries. It will be noted particularly that the Judicial Department which has won the admiration of the public for its efficiency and integrity has not been given due recognition of its claim for higher salaries. For example the Sheristadar of a District Court was originally on the scale of Rs. 180—10—240. It was reduced in 1933 to Rs. 150—20/2—210. Now the pre-1933 scale is not restored, but only the increment is made annual, i.e., Rs. 150—10—210. Take the case of the Official Receivers. They do the same work in the districts as the Official Assignee and the Deputy Official Assignee in Madras. The Official Assignee's scale is Rs. 1,400—50/2—1,800. He gets an additional allowance of Rs. 300 per month for doing work under the Indian Companies Act as Official Receiver as well. The Deputy Official Assignee is on the scale of Rs. 500—50—750. Whereas in the districts for doing the same work, the Official Receivers are paid Rs. 160—10—325 for first grade and Rs. 160—5—240—10—270 for second grade. Whatever reason there may have been for the distinction of the

[Hameed Sultan Maricair Sahib Bahadur] [10th March 1947]

first and second grade when the provincialization scheme was introduced there is no necessity for retaining this distinction now that the Insolvency work for all has become more or less the same. The difference between the first and second grade Superintendents in the Secretariat service has been abolished. It is well that the Official Receivers are put on the same grade and their salaries are also fixed on the same scale as the Superintendents. This is one of several anomalies which have got to be set right immediately to restore contentment among officials. The pay of peons and duffadars should have been fixed higher. The annual increment of half a rupee is ridiculously low.

"Before I conclude I wish to add that we have to be vigilant in the matter of securing enough food and cloth for the masses. The outturn during the last harvest has not been very promising. We have to depend upon imports of foodgrains. The ration system has to continue for some more time. It has proved successful in the matter of distribution of foodstuffs. In extending it to cloth distribution, I hope the same principle of efficiency and economy and impartiality will be continued. It is necessary to conserve stocks and guarantee supply. The quantity now allowed per head per year is very insufficient. Steps must be taken to increase this allotment. For special occasions, extra rations must be permitted, for example, marriages and religious observations, funeral ceremonies, etc., during which presents have to be given. It might be taken that with the prevailing high ruling prices, one thinks twice before choosing a cloth or saree for presentation and therefore, there is no fear that such relaxation will lead to deficiency in this supply of ordinary rations of clothing. Further, to the extent to which a person receives cloth as present he is relieved of scarcity that much and such cases will be far and few between among the large mass of population. Hence, I plead for giving effect to this proposal in framing the cloth ration regulations.

"Regarding the Publicity Department I should think that it should represent to the people not only the policies of the Government but also the views of the Opposition in the Legislature. There is no virtue in the Government blowing its own trumpet through its journal *Madras Information*. During the war for counteracting the enemy, war propaganda and publicity was necessary and this machinery was utilized for purposes of getting all the materials in men and money to carry on the fight against the enemy. Is the Government still carrying on warfare on that colossal scale, and if so against whom? Where is the necessity for the huge waste of public funds for such propaganda?

"I close with the hope that the points raised by me will receive the attention which they deserve."

* MRS. MONA HENSMAN :—"Mr. President, Sir, much has been said in this discussion on the budget displaying comprehensive knowledge and encyclopaedic survey. Sir, it is not my intention to make a sweeping statement of congratulation or denunciation on this budget; but I wish to offer a few remarks by way of criticism in a spirit of co-operation and I trust the suggestions will be

10th March 1947] [Mrs. Mona Hensman]

approved by the Treasury Bench, and although it is too late now to incorporate them in the budget before us here they might be included in the supplementary budget that will come up at the end of the year. I remember your ruling, Sir, that the average speaker in this House is expected to finish his or her speech within 20 minutes, and so I shall try to limit myself well within that time."

Mr. PRESIDENT :—" I don't mind your taking more time."
(Laughter.)

* MRS. MONA HENSMAN :—" Thank you, Sir, I now come to the individual items of the budget. I feel this budget is very disappointing after taking into consideration what the Hon. Premier said in this budget speech for 1946-47. These are his remarks :—

' Apart from the additional provision of grants to managements of aided primary schools to enable them to pay higher dearness allowance at Rs. 16 per mensem to their teaching staff and for the supply of midday meals to poor children attending primary schools in selected areas, the budget includes a provision of Rs. 22 lakhs for the extension of compulsory primary education to further selected areas in the current year. To provide teachers for the increasing number of primary schools, the Government have also planned to train 4,000 additional teachers and have arranged for the payment of enhanced rates of stipends to teachers undergoing training. The Government are aware of the need for raising the status of these teachers.'

This filled the country with hope. Many of us on this side of the House are optimists. Although we knew that the hands of Government are very much tied by way of finance we trusted that the axe was not going to fall on education. Because, Sir, let me remind you, that education is the highway of implementing every Bill and every measure satisfactorily, that has been brought in by the Government during this period. The very Bill that we were discussing during the last week depended entirely on the instruments that are used to exercise it. We would have no hesitation in adopting any such measure, or every such measure, if the education of the person, who was entitled to take action, could be of a standard that the House would honourably approve of. Sir, it is lack of education that we regret in this Province; and that is the reason why we hoped from the paragraph I quoted from the last budget speech that Government was really going to do something to raise the status of the teachers. I think you will agree with me that the standards of this Province are so low in everything, because we are all down on education. I think, if you look, you will find there is very little allotted in the budget under education this year in comparison with last year and the years before that.

" Besides the typical passage I quoted, I wish to say there should be more provision for scholarship. We need scholarships not for those who are already going to colleges, but for those who cannot go to colleges, for those who cannot go to schools, for those who cannot take up technical training and for those who cannot take up polytechnic courses by reason of poverty or lack of other resources. Training in polytechnics and schools of technology especially needs scholarships, for many a skilled worker has to put aside a brilliant and useful future just for lack of money. Colleges may not be counted very necessary for higher education by some of

[Mrs. Mona Hensman] [10th March 1947]

us, and they are a bit too much emphasised in certain districts or by certain groups. There is no doubt that colleges are absolutely necessary for our boys and girls between 14 and 18 years old, for, instead of otherwise using their leisure well, using their literacy and other powers of memory and intellect for the good of the nation, they would sink back into apathy and ignorance. Colleges may be intended only for a favoured few, but they are intended definitely for the leaders of the country. Government have recognised that; and their own leaders for the most part have exercised privileges and enjoyed the social service and recreation of college life as well as the work in their college days.

"Then, Sir, nursery schools and creches are things that should come under education. People who go out to work—men and women in these days have both got to earn—find no time to bring up their children properly themselves, with the result that these children are left to the care of hirelings. If nursery schools and creches are established they can take care of such children and bring them up as citizens, not as future waifs and strays.

"Now, I come to the vexed question of the salaries of teachers and their allowances. I trust that in future the budget will provide for a special grant for the salaries of teachers. In the old days, justice was meted out to everybody. At a time when people in Europe could not approach their monarch and when they were dressed in woad and painted their bodies for clothing, our people were allowed to come to any ruler in this country and state their own case. We hear even of animals coming to our kings—in historical stories ringing the bells of justice—and their grievances being attended to in due course. That tradition has always been recognised and it is still recognised. During the last seven months, it is well known how our Ministers were besieged not only by beggars, but by friends and well-wishers, not only by those who had something to gain, but by those who could contribute something and give a welcome to the leaders of the people, and we know how so many teachers stood face to face with Members of the Treasury Bench to voice forth their grievances. And, Sir, what provision is made for them in this budget, Sir? That is justice.

11-45
a.m.

"I trust that in the implementation of this budget (when it becomes a supplementary budget shall I say), I trust that 1947 will not close with this meagre amount for the education budget and that this education budget will be more than doubled and trebled. This request comes from those who are nobody in office but who are everybody at the moment according to the Government's claims. Sir, I am sorry to see that the Minister for Education is not here. The gentleman who holds the portfolio at the present moment is one who has worked with us very much in university matters. He is very tender-hearted. He is what I may call a practised advocate for students, finding an excuse even for those who practise what is termed in common parlance, malpractice in examinations."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"The hon. Member may give his name for the benefit of the House."

10th March 1947]

MRS. MONA HENSMAN :—" I always thought, Sir, that I should not refer to personalities on the floor of the House. But since you ask me to do so, I may say that the Hon. Minister, Mr. Bhashyam has always made an appeal to students' claims for education."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I am only hoping that this will bring him to the House."

* MRS. MONA HENSMAN :—" It is too late for me, Sir. He may probably hear somebody else. Again, I say that I hope that the Government in the implementation of this budget will give a high priority for education."

" I will be grateful, Sir, if the Hon. the Lady Minister for Medicine also will increase her budget. Sir, she is well-known and well-loved. We have known her long ago before she came into this Government. Sir, this is not a tribute paid because she is a woman. Please do not think that women will easily compliment women; it is really a good woman who gets a compliment from another woman." (Laughter.)

MR. PRESIDENT :—" You surely supplement men! "

* MRS. MONA HENSMAN :—" Mr. President, in this budget medical relief and public health are taken under separate heads. To my uninformed mind, medical and public health are just two sides of the same thing. One is the curative side and the other, the preventive side of the business. I would suggest to the Hon. Lady Minister that there should be more money allotted to Nursing, Hospitals, etc., and that there should be more free beds and more doctors provided for the public. Now, Sir, the hospitals are overcrowded because of the malnutrition and because of the existing circumstances of financial deficiencies. Some are there for lack of what they need by way of nutrition. They would have had the requisite amount and been able to afford the necessary diet if this had been 1939 and before the war. Our financial budget now remains the same as then and so it is health that is going down. I therefore appeal for more beds and more properly paid doctors in hospitals. I would make no invidious distinction when I especially mention three hospitals with which I have had something to do, one which deals with the sight of the City, and the others the Royapettah Hospital and the Government Mental Hospital which indeed have received stepmotherly treatment. I would ask that a certain amount of money be given to improve the Mental Hospital, which I know from within, for I was there in another capacity than as a patient. (Laughter.) I assure the House that this hospital needs much by way of ameliorative benefits and I am sure that the Hon. Minister will do what she can for that hospital and all other hospitals, not only in the City but in the mufassal.

" As regards the preventive side, I would ask her to make an increase in the budget in regard to anti-pestilential measures for diseases and pests in general. I would ask for an increase for all that inoculation, vaccination, etc., involve—for they have become necessary in these days—and for anti-tetanus injections and other

[Mrs. Mona Hensman] [10th March 1947]

cures. I know that doctors are here in this House who know far better than I do, but I feel that we should certainly have an increase of amoutment on the preventive side.

“ Then I come to housing. Sir, I should place housing together with beggary, nutrition and free meals under this head rather than any other head, for the public health of the Province depends very much upon housing and the prevention of beggary. If there are better and more houses and less overcrowding, more water and better drainage and the beggars were to be kept inside and not allowed to overcrowd the streets there would be a great increase immediately in the real health of the City and the Province as a whole.

“ Sir, a sum of Rs. 37 lakhs which was provided for free meals to feed the children in Government schools has been cut out. What is 37 or 38 lakhs in a provincial budget when you think of the future health of these children who will be the fathers and mothers, whether we like it or not, of our future legislators twenty years hence. In 1942 when there was an exodus from the City the only institutions in the Chingleput district and in the City that kept their normal working hours were the Government schools where free meals were given to the children. Goods did not come in and materials were not there. Even the cooks ran away or were found wanting. Somehow the schools continued to give the free meals even at that time of stress and strain. Now that it is a peace time it is surely not good that we should stop this ameliorative benefit for the children who may have no other way of getting the good food that has been given to them in their schools.

“ Then I will pass on to the miscellaneous items. The other Lady Member of this House has touched upon many of them comprehensively. Sir, I would say a word with regard to vigilance work. Vigilance does not mean only rescue work. It means a general condition whereby peace may prosper and develop in this Province. That is vigilance which means that a spirit be created so that all the evil elements should be eradicated. Sir, that work must receive more encouragement and I would plead that all worthy institutions that especially touch on this vigilance work and that have been carried on in this Province by women welfare workers should get a specially enhanced budget for the future.

“ The next items I would touch upon are cottage industries and youth movements. Well, Sir, as regards cottage industries the Hon. the Premier has got his heart in that and I know that he has made an extensive and elastic budget with regard to that. But what about the youth movements—the youth movements I talk of are irrespective of caste and creed and irrespective of objects and needs. What is it that makes the youth of our country fit to become good citizens of the future India? It is not to be controlled, not to be regimented but to be allowed and encouraged to learn. Could not some money be found for free libraries or for free education for those boys and girls who have to work early in life? I therefore

10th March 1947] [Mrs. Mona Hensman]

appeal to the Treasury Bench that some money should be allotted to all youth movements to build up the strength of the nation as it should be built up and as we want it to be built up in these days.

“ Then, Sir, I should say something about public information. Sir, ‘ Madras Information ’ has been coming out once a fortnight. It is a very creditable magazine. But, Sir, it does not give us the fortnight’s news but it gives us news months old and sometimes of years gone by. I feel, Sir, it should give a great deal more of topical information. It should present both sides of the case in any controversy or of any vexed question and it should be made to interest everybody. If the Hon. Minister for Information—I do not know who is now in charge and therefore I can be quite impersonal—says that he has spent lakhs of money on it, we would not think it wrong, because we wish to have the beautiful photographs of the buildings in this City and news of what has been done lately not very long ago. The present magazine does no good at all.

“ Sir, in this magazine there is no woman’s point of view. I feel that the woman’s point of view is very necessary for propaganda of all sorts. You could get some articles from eminent writer. I do not mean you, Sir, personally, but I mean the Minister concerned and the authority concerned. He can get articles from ladies who are doing a great deal of work and who can give advice to people on the welfare of children. The other day Dr. Lakshmi made a very stirring speech at the Women’s Inter-Collegiate Sports about students not taking part in party politics. This is woman’s politics. We wish to be above party and communal considerations, considering only principles of life. We want our children to improve their social life and we must be able to do propaganda in the magazine of Public Information. I hope the Minister for Information will take this into consideration. Now as it is, ‘ Madras Information ’ costs four annas, while we have the ‘ Illustrated Weekly ’ for 8 annas a copy where the public are given a lot of pictures and puzzles and the peculiar mammoth prize offers to encourage the circulation. Sir, ‘ Madras Information ’ must be made the most interesting magazine of this Province as well as the organ of Government’s propaganda.

“ Now, Sir, before I finish, I wish to refer to a remark that was made on Friday—I think it was Friday evening—that Members on this side of the House were in the Opposition just because they sit on this side of the House. Sir, both sides have heavy stakes in the working and interpretation of the same rule, and you know, Sir, that we on this side of the House are as eager to serve our country as any one else. Does sincerity belong wholly to one party and insincerity to another? Does the guidance of Heaven stop on either side of the central table? Surely it is more like the microphone that interprets the ideals of both sides and translates them into action.

“ Sir, now I want to say that my criticism of this budget is not in any spirit of opposition, but it is in a spirit of suggestion and co-operation. I trust that it will be taken and implemented. I would say not only that it does not go far enough, but it does not go any way at all to cover the heads under which I have spoken.

[Mrs. Mona Hensman] [10th March 1947]

I trust that the Government will be able, before the end of the year, to present it to us in a form that will be welcome and that will satisfy us under the various clauses. Sir, not only are the revenues of a nation at stake here, but the reputation, the growth and the development of a nation are also at stake in the budget that is brought before us to-day."

* DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—

" Mr. President, Sir, as I sat listening to the budget speeches of hon. Members hour after hour, I felt an air of unreality creeping into me and I was wondering whether those speeches were worth making on the floor of this House. It has been a misfortune, Sir, that Members in this House have to address empty Treasury Benches on almost every occasion conceivable, except perhaps for the great honour that the youngest Member of the Cabinet does for us who probably has nothing else to do because he has a lesser allotment of portfolios to shoulder! Sir, the visits of Ministers have been as rare as those of angels, far more fleeting perhaps than those, angels will make. Ministers have been trying to get information from the districts in their recent tours and are so busy touring the whole of the constituencies, they have not the time, Sir, to listen to the speeches of hon. members who are supposed to be representatives of those people in the House. I do not . . . "

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I suppose you mean the Hon. the Premier when you say 'the youngest of the Ministers'." (Laughter.)

* DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" Sir, having seen him sitting there from hour to hour so patiently listening to the speeches, not always complimentary, I did feel that he was the youngest Minister and therefore I paid him that compliment. I ask, Sir, whether we are working in a democracy? I have always maintained that one of the fundamentals of democracy should be sound conventions. I say, it is not to compliment us, it is not as a matter of courtesy that we expect every single Minister to be present on this occasion of budget speeches because although we know that they can read the budget speeches, they cannot have any knowledge of the spirit of those who speak nor the purpose behind those speeches. It is a matter of regret that even after so many hints had been given both by yourself and by other hon. Members here the Hon. Ministers are far too busy with their portfolios to care to listen to the representatives in the Council.

" Sir, I have another point to make before I proceed with the Budget. You, Sir, have taken the greatest amount of interest in trying to get the meetings of the Legislature fixed and I know what difficulties you have experienced. I do feel that the time has come when the legislatures ought not to be the plaything of the Treasury Bench but should have definite days for themselves and definite periods when they are to meet. I do feel, Sir—I know that it is your object and you have tried your best—that there must be a convention established that the legislature will be beyond the official

10th March 1947] [Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar]

influence of the Treasury Bench and will be able to set up its own duties and fix its own dates, albeit with the kind co-operation of the Hon. the Premier. We do not want to ignore his wishes, but, Sir, the manner in which the Legislative Council was sought to be assembled—the day-to-day adjournments that were necessary which the papers announced to the Members—does not speak well of the amount of interest that ought to be taken in the legislature. Sir, I spoke of the Legislature being independent of the Treasury Bench not because there is anything harmful in the Treasury Bench knowing something about it, but that is the convention in all democratic Assemblies. Sir, I know the Speaker in the House of Commons is extremely particular about his own rights not that he does not agree with the Premier of the day, but in the interests of all legislative bodies, I think the convention demands in a democratic Assembly that the Legislature ought to have its own functional responsibility."

MR. PRESIDENT:—"May I suggest to the Hon. the Premier that the rest of the Ministers may be asked to be present in the House at least when important speeches are being made." (Laughter.)

* DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR:—"I¹² feel embarrassed by your suggestion. But let me continue. noon.

"I understand that there is a proposal that the Speaker of the Assembly should be deputed to foreign countries, more particularly to see the Mother of Parliaments at work. I do hope that it will be also possible for this House to share in the happiness of the President of the Legislative Council being likewise deputed. (Hear, hear). Left to myself I should be the first to vote, even in this budget, sufficient funds to enable even the Ministers to go to foreign countries for a period of three to six months, because if they go out and come back they and we on this side will have less different points of view, and more possibilities of seeing each other's points of view.

"Sir, I now come to another question which pertains to the principles of democratic forms of Government. I have no intention of discussing the party politics of the day or in any way interfere with the internal politics of the party in power. But we cannot and ought not to forget that at present the position is a little anomalous. Some Members who were Ministers have resigned their portfolios and have handed them over to other Ministers. I feel, Sir, that just on the eve of the most important session of the Legislature, the Budget Session, it is unfortunate that these Ministers were compelled from their own private or personal or from their political convictions to submit their resignations. I wish they had deferred it, but that is a matter of opinion. I do feel however that the convention ought to be established that when a Minister resigns, his first duty is to explain his position to the Legislature. The resignation of an individual Minister is nothing new in a democratic Assembly. Many Ministers have resigned

[Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar] [10th March 1947]

before. Lord Randolph Churchill resigned on that famous occasion, but there was Lord Goschen, the father of one of the Madras Governors to take his place. But Lord Randolph felt compelled to make apologies both to the House of Commons and to his own electorate. If a Minister therefore feels compelled to resign there are two forums to which he must address himself. The one is the Legislative Assembly of which he happens to be a Member and the second is his own constituency. I saw the other day the correspondence going on in the press on the resignation of the Ministers. I have nothing to say on the merits of the correspondence but it is an undemocratic method of conducting oneself when one is a Minister or a Parliamentary Secretary of the party in power. My object is not to criticize these people; perhaps they had not thought of this aspect of the matter. But as unfortunately or fortunately it may happen again, I do wish to reiterate the fact that when a Minister resigns his first duty is to explain his position to the Legislature and secondly to the electorate which returned him to the House concerned.

“ Sir, when a budget is presented to this House, we generally apply some yard-sticks to know what exactly is the advantage conferred on the population by the budget. These yard-sticks are in a measure more or less international, and we are therefore justified in applying the yard-sticks to any budget that may be presented.

“ Sir, what is the object of a budget. The budget in a measure should show whether it has or has not been able to increase the productive capacity of the people and enable them to earn more, so that their wants may be supplied. It has also got to show whether it has directly or indirectly contributed to a better condition of living for the people concerned, the masses and the classes, if you still want to make a differentiation, for the time is rapidly coming when all will be masses and there will be no classes. The budget has to show how far people are educated to take a lively sense of responsibility in the affairs of the country, how far it has been possible to make them not merely literate but something better than literate so that they may discharge their duties of citizenship. Fourthly it must show how far it has enabled people to live a healthy life, free from the various diseases to which unfortunately human beings are subject. Lastly the budget in a way should be the great solidifying force to the community, promoting a spirit of unity and not a spirit of discord. Judged by these standards. I would leave it to the hon. Members to say how far this budget satisfies those conditions.

“ Sir, on the last occasion when the budget was presented, I ventured to express the plea that it was not quite fair to criticize the Ministry for that particular budget, because they had after all inherited some of the tendencies, good and bad, of the Advisers' regime and they had not had time to amend the budget. But at present after 7 or 8 months of office, they should know exactly

10th March 1947] [Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar]

what the conditions are, and we must take it that this budget represents the considered verdict and the view points of the Treasury Bench on the various aspects of the budget programme they have placed before the House.

“ Before going into the details of the budget, I should like to refer to some general aspects of the administration. I feel these general aspects of administration are far more important if we are to preserve the democratic nature of the Province. I am sorry to say, Sir, that many of the proposals of the Government were more or less proposals hatched, if I may say so, in the Secretariat. This Government has somehow or other established a convention that the most important questions of the day should be discussed only in the sub-committees of the Cabinet. Whether it is a question of the reorganization of the pay of non-gazetted services, whether it is a question of tackling the food situation, whether it is the most contentious subject of producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies, whether it is a question of laying out a policy of prohibition, or whether it is the textile policy of the Government, it seems to me that this Government is in no need of advice from any source whatever and that it could manage all the affairs of the State by co-operation and co-ordination among the Members of the Cabinet. You find plenty of evidence in the budget presented by the Hon. Premier that almost everything has been done by sub-committees of the Cabinet. I have the greatest respect for these sub-committees. But may I say without any fear of contradiction that the amount of assistance available to these sub-committees must necessarily be very meagre, the amount of information at their disposal must necessarily be very meagre? In addition, Sir, the present Members, most of them, suffer from the great handicap that for twenty-five years they have been in the woods, they have not had the experience of facing a Legislature either from the Treasury Bench or from the Opposition, much less of knowing something of what legislative enactments mean, something of what a budget means. In spite of the great attention and devotion that they might have paid to their duties, it is no reflection on any of them to say that they could have discharged their duties better if they had more advice and more of consultation and more of information from diverse sources. I do not for a moment suggest that they should give up their responsibility. No Central Government has been condemned more vehemently, than the Government of India but they had an Advisory Board or Council attached to every department and composed of Members of the Legislature and sometimes of those who are not Members of the Legislature. Believe me, I am not pleading for Members of the Legislature, but it seems to me that the proper thing to do is for every portfolio, to have an Advisory Council composed partly of Members of the Legislature and partly of expert opinion from outside, so that before any large question of policy is finally decided by the Government they would have an opportunity of hearing all shades of opinion. That is the way in which democratic forms of Government can be envisaged. I do plead that in future at least, this particular reform

[Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar] [10th March 1947]

which is necessary and not in any way intended to take away from the powers of the Government will be considered by the Hon. Ministers.

" Sir, I now come to another point which, I feel, is a little more contentious. But I have to mention the facts somehow or other, even at the risk of criticism. There has been a feeling in many quarters that the Members of the Legislature are dominating in places where they should not dominate. This Government is actually encouraging the participation of the Members of the Legislature in various functions in the respective districts in which they need not have found such a prominent place. I was sorry, I was not present on the occasion of the debate on the food situation. But I saw in an answer to a recent question the Hon. Minister stated that Food Committees consisted of Members of Legislature of the district concerned. Not only that they consisted of these legislators, but in the constitution of these food committees, the Members of the Legislature had to be consulted by the Collector and those whom they recommend should be appointed. What is the inference, Sir? The inference is that political considerations must necessarily weigh with those representatives who have their political parties to support them in the Legislature. They must therefore dominate the food committees by representatives of political parties to which they belong. Whether it be the Muslim League or whether it be the Congress, it does not matter to me. The fundamental consideration is that the Collector has no choice in the matter and that the gentleman who is the legislator has to dictate. In other ways also, the Government have been laying stress that legislators should be placed on this or that particular body. I have had half-a-dozen circulars to this effect, but as I am more or less tied down by various considerations, I have not had an opportunity of availing myself of these facilities. I ask, Sir, is it right that the legislator should be asked to take on these duties? Are they competent to do so? What is the legislator for? The legislator has to express his views. Is it contended that the legislators are the only persons? Are there not many others, perhaps much better qualified, than they in their own party to take up these duties? If the legislator comes in by virtue of his influence in the particular district, I have no objection. But if he is to be foisted on by the mere fact that he is a legislator, it brings trouble with it. Because once that temptation is placed, it will grow and the legislators will demand that they should occupy places in many other bodies. I have seen sufficient evidence of that temptation already. I have been a visitor to the Secretariat. It surpasses my imagination how the corridors of the Secretariat are crowded with Members who *do not* belong to the Legislature, with members who do not belong to any particular department. Railway traffic has increased in volume! I congratulate myself that the railway budget of the Government of India will show more income after the inauguration of the Ministry! But may I say, if you want to break the spirit of and confuse the permanent services

10th March 1947] [Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar]

of the country, there can be no better method than that of getting these representations made through these gentlemen for various reasons and for various purposes.

There again, Sir, I do not want to discriminate. I am nei- 12-15
ther an Andhra nor a Tamilian, but both. (Laughter.) But I do P.m.
say this that if it is an Andhra Minister, the Andhras are there in large numbers, and if it is a Tamilian Minister, the Tamilians are there in large numbers. I cannot speak of Malayalam because I have not seen Mr. Raghava Menon and therefore I will not venture. The purpose of my comment is this. Every democracy has realized that the integrity and the independence of the public services ought to be the first and last concern of democracy. What happens? Very influential gentlemen, gentlemen who have given a great deal of their time, talent and energy during the elections and after, gentlemen who can probably influence the legislators come and they have to be satisfied. Human nature being what it is, the permanent services are completely demoralized. If this were to continue, I would rather wish that the hon. Members of Government have separate rooms, now that the Government House is so easily available to them, where they can hold the old banyan tree jamabandi of the Collector and get everybody to talk to them. But the presence of these gentlemen in the Secretariat has been at the risk of delaying many files and the regular routine duties of the hon. Members concerned. The impression that one has only got to go to Madras to get this or that set right is not an impression to be encouraged. I do not suggest for a moment that grievances should not be redressed. I perfectly agree that the hon. Members are there for redressing legitimate grievances. But the first consideration should be that the person should have travelled through the regular channels and should ultimately come up to the Minister concerned through a petition. It is hardly necessary for oral representations to be made. If the hon. Members would only take courage in their hands and say : ' we shall not be tortured by these visitors who keep us disturbing in time and out of time, in season and out of season ' this Council and the other House will support that attitude. If this interference with the day-to-day administration be allowed to continue, it will seriously detract from the work of the Ministry. Not only will it seriously detract from the work of the Ministry, it will lay itself open to various current rumours which may have no bearing at all but which will certainly affect the position and the prestige of the Ministry itself. Other democratic forms of Government have realized this and that brings me to the next point, Sir.

" In regard to appointments, I regret to state that the Ministry has not yet realized that patronage is one of the worst sins in the hands of any Ministry. It may be that they are temporary appointments; it may be they are only for this or that purpose. But, believe me, the foundations of any Ministry, whether it be this Ministry or any other Ministry, will be rudely shaken if it takes patronage into its hands. I remember, Sir, as if it were only the

[Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar] [10th March 1947]

other day, the late Rajah of Panagal speaking on a no-confidence motion in the old Legislative Council, when he said: 'For one particular appointment that I made, I made one doubtful friend and twenty enemies.' That is perfectly true to-day, Sir, and if I may venture to express a guess with apologies to the party in power, the troubles within the Government are not a little due to this fundamental fact. (Hear, hear.) There is a saying that—

'Ill fares the man to hastening ills a prey

Where wealth accumulates and men decay.'

If you will permit me to change it a little bit, I would say—

'Ill fares the party to hastening ills a prey

Where power and patronage accumulate and men decay.'

That is the position to-day which we have to guard against in democratic institutions. Now, Sir, with your permission, let me come to the point at issue. A Public Service Commission of a definite nature may be set up with a view to make these appointments, to lay down conditions, and to choose in any manner they like, once the Government settle their policy. It need not be the present Public Service Commission. It is open to this Government to appoint a small Public Service Commission and to throw this wretched responsibility into their hands, who will then be free to decide without any of these innumerable visits from very entertaining friends.

'Sir, with your permission, I want to deal with a few details of the budget. I do not want to take much time in this departmental budget. For one thing, the hon. Members here are not in a position to answer and you yourself, out of your tenderness, have given us the gentle hint that we have to take note of the fact that the Ministers concerned with the particular departments took over charge only a few days ago. If, therefore, we express criticism, it is somewhat embarrassing, for I would have liked to face the particular Ministers who were responsible. Yet, this is the only occasion when this House has an opportunity to give expression to its views. It is with that little reservation that I wish to apply myself.

'Let me take the education budget. Many members have spoken about it and it is not my intention to go into it in detail. Sir, it was the greatest disappointment for me to see the provision that had been made in the budget. We had been living in dreams, dreams of a post-war reconstruction era, dreams of compulsory primary education everywhere, dreams of expansion of secondary education, dreams of technological schools and technological laboratories, dreams of further expansion of professional education—dreams indeed which are still continuing to be dreams! This budget really shows that nothing more has been provided than in the previous years. If anything, it is much less than in previous years. I say that, because the bulk of the amount provided there is for the payment of dearness allowance and increased pay of teachers rather than for any progressive expansion of education. But, Sir, even that increased pay is hardly sufficient. Hon. Members

10th March 1947] [Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar]

must not convict us of coming in a Micawoerlike way and pleading for these poor teachers. I realize their difficulties, I realize what a strain it is for managements to get qualified teachers. When I find, for instance, in the Subordinate Educational Service that the revised scale of pay is only Rs. 120 to Rs. 240 when in the years previous to 1931 it was Rs. 125 to Rs. 250 and much water has run underneath the bridge since then, am I to take it that first-class and second-class Honours people, people with research qualifications, people high in the academic world, will come for this salary and possibly spend the rest of their lives in the Subordinate Educational Service? If you do not recruit properly qualified men and men with high academic attainments to the Subordinate Educational Service, when you promote them to the Provincial Educational Service, you cannot get the best elements into that sphere. I think there is a certain lack of imagination because the Hon. Minister for Education, who is a person very good in many ways, had lived an abstemious life all through (laughter) and a bachelor at that, that he does not realize the responsibilities of married life. (Renewed laughter.) From that point of view at least I congratulate the present Hon. Minister for Education. (Laughter.)

“ Sir, within a few months, from the 15th of June if not from the 1st of June, there will be groups and groups of students running from one educational institution to another, some of them holding their *panchangams* as they call the S.S.L.Cs. in their hands, rushing from Principal to Principal, the Principals getting almost mad, and sometimes nearly getting into that institution that Mrs. Hensman spoke about. It was our experience, especially it was our experience last year the applicants were so many that the Government came and said : We have just come into power; can you not do something to relieve this. The university went out of its way, and I say this deliberately, to increase the number of students that can be admitted to any college to its maximum capacity, although some of us felt that it was not in the interests of efficiency. Eight months have passed. We are going to face another year. What is the position? The same problem confronts us. Not one single institution has been so far opened by the Government. I want to go further and say that we have laid down certain conditions which will probably enable the Government to come to the aid of managements who wish to open colleges. The university has laid down taking the present conditions into consideration that Rs. 5 lakhs would be required for building and equipment and Rs. 5 lakhs as an endowment to help to pay the teachers properly and to purchase the instruments that are required. I do hope that the Government would give some building grants at least Rs. 2½ lakhs especially because the university, by insisting upon this Rs. 5 lakhs endowment, had really come to the rescue of Government by a proportionate cutting down in the recurring grants. What do I find? Government colleges—I am

[Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar] [10th March 1947]

stating this after a tour of inspection of the whole of the Madras University area—are in a far worse position than colleges maintained by private managements. The Government, the Director of Public Instruction, and the managements concerned gave us an assurance that if the university allowed this increased number, they would entertain more teachers to cope with the work of the increased number. The conditions laid down for the increased number were the same for private-managed colleges as for the Government colleges. The only colleges that have not conformed to the university stipulations are those Government colleges which had increased the number but which unfortunately did not increase the staff. The Syndicate of the Madras University is going into this matter. Is it unfair if we say that the university cannot accept it? There is an impression that there is something wrong with the University in that it wants to fight the Government. I am neither by temper nor by physique capable of much fight. But I do say this: not only are you doing a disservice to your colleges, but you are actually making it extremely difficult for the university to put the same stipulations to private-managed colleges when you, as the Government, with all the resources at your command, are not in a position to fulfil your obligations. I do hope that the Government will take it in the spirit in which I have mentioned.

“ There is one controversy that has certainly created a great deal of sentiment and a great deal of opposition. ‘Regional language’ is an expression that has been coined of late. I do not know the significance of it. But I would like to mention this. The hon. members referred to many other reforms. To-day the most urgent of all reforms is certainly not the regional reform, the encouragement of this or that language, or the abandoning of English, but the reform which will promote unity among people. You may do it with the best of motives, but when it creates discord, it is not a thing about which you or I can be proud. Regional language can certainly be encouraged, but to force it as the one and only issue against the teeth of opposition is really to do a disservice to the regional language. Let me give you the experience that I had only two days ago, that is on Saturday. My friends here have been contending that Urdu should be the language. The more you stress the regional language, the more vehement this contention becomes—may be without good cause. But it is in human nature to rebel against the enforcement of any particular view-point. At the Government Muslim College, Madras, I had the honour of distributing prizes. The occasion was an inter-collegiate debate in Tamil open to all the colleges in Madras City. Do you know who won that prize? Two Muslim boys won the Tamil elocution prize. I tell you, my heart was overflowing with a feeling of elation. Now that spirit is going to be ruined by the enforcement of this regional language without taking into consideration the exceptions that are to be made. I think it is unfortunate that even in matters of education there is not a large-hearted and generous view of things.

10th March 1947] [Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar]

" I do not want to speak more on the subject. I should like to state that the Hon. Minister should take note of the position of the Engineering colleges to-day. I say that, because it is not on the responsibility of the Government but it is on the responsibility of the University, these colleges have been opened.

12-30
p.m.

" My hon. friend, Mr. Narayana Menon, was referring to the college of Palghat and the correspondence that has taken place about that college would absolve the University from any blame of responsibility for the state of affairs there. The Engineering college opened at Coimbatore is in a most unfortunate condition to-day. By June 1948 the period of three years elapses. Seventy-five to eighty students have been admitted. The third year will open in July next. We have been asking the Government to take the necessary steps for building the colleges but still a lot of trouble there is with regard to the site, where shall we locate it. Your own legislators are not able to come to a unanimous opinion on that subject. That is with reference to the Coimbatore Engineering College. As far as the colleges at other places are concerned, I do not wish to say more because I am not really familiar with them.

" Now, Sir, I come to one of the most contentious subjects which has been repeatedly criticized both here and elsewhere. That is the Textile policy of the Government. Sir, I am one of those who will not oppose a policy which I am reluctant to adopt, if there can be shown a rational basis for that policy. I ask the Hon. Premier to appreciate other points of view. There can be more than one point of view on every question. I am sorry the other day for the first time, the Hon. Prime Minister referred to two of our friends, who were not championing the cause, that they were not civilized because they were not dressed in khadi. Being self-conscious I felt myself in the same dock as my two friends. The Hon. Minister knows as well as anybody that the sartorial embellishment of any individual does not connote the sign of civilization to-day."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I think the Hon. Premier was not referring to the dress."

* DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" I am sorry if I am wrong.

" That apart, what is the textile policy of the Government? I would be very happy if the Hon. Prime Minister or any of his colleagues would not imagine that those who differ from them are really in the way of vested interests and guided by vested interests. Democracy will be a snare if that were the manner in which the opposition view-point were taken. Certain amount of spindles were allotted to this Presidency and the Hon. Prime Minister and his colleagues were feeling that mills were an anachronism, if not a positive invention of the devil. They want to surrender the spindles. The Hon. Prime Minister has stated that that is the cardinal principle and policy of the party to which he belongs and that they fought for khadi all these years. Therefore they are

[Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar] [10th March 1947]

entitled to have it by virtue of their electoral manifesto and by virtue of their long fight and to impose it on the whole population. Yes, Sir, being a democrat I bow to that. May I ask him whether that Congress policy is confined only to this benighted Presidency? Are not the Congress Ministries in eight Provinces to surrender the spindles allotted by the Government of India? What is the position? An esteemed colleague of the Hon. Prime Minister, the Prime Minister of Orissa, Mr. Harikrishna Mehtab, is putting up three more mills in his Province with the permission of the Government of India. In the Central Provinces Mr. Ravi Shanker Sukhla is asking for more mills, while Mr. Govind Vallabh Pant, one of the most influential members of the inner Cabinet of the Congress, is getting more spindles. I need not speak of Bombay. If you cannot show us that your policy is consistent in all these Provinces, may we not reasonably claim some further reasons why this policy is being inflicted on this benighted Presidency. Not only that. People who have been having these mills are deprived of spindles. Some people have raised buildings for opening more mills; they are not in a position to utilize those buildings. You know, Sir—because it is in your electorate—there is a building within three miles of Tirupati; it was built for the purpose of locating a mill and it has now come to the roof-level and is hanging there in the mid air. The Hon. Prime Minister says 'we cannot give you spindles.' Is that the policy of the Congress? If that is so, why is it that the Congressmen in this Presidency are now starting and organizing associations for the starting of mills. One prominent member of the Congress Organization who is now the Managing Director proposes to establish a mill in Pudukottah. We are willing to follow you if you show there is consistency in your own policy.

"The real trouble is this. If this Presidency is deprived of these mills, if we are not going to get more spindles, the mills will have to become mere scraps in course of time. They have already become scraps for they are used beyond their productive capacity; if spindles are not supplied, mills will become scraps. I am not lavishing any sympathy for the mill-owners; they have hunted with the hounds and run with the hares. If they are in this unfortunate and precarious position, they have to thank themselves. But I ask you one fundamental question. Are Ahmedabad and Bombay going to rule us in this as in other respects? How is the Ministry going to stop the supply of textile cloth from the neighbouring Provinces to the citizens of Madras? Will that come under Public Safety Ordinance? Have you got power to do it? The result of this policy, when it is not followed in other parts of the country, is to ruin this industry . . ."

THE HON. SRI V. V. GIRI:—"They are not now starting new mills."

* DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR:—"I am not talking of new mills. They have got so many mills; they do not want any new mills. They are getting lakhs of spindles allotted to them. They are going to get them as speedily as

10th March 1947] [Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar]

possible. Not only that; the Government of India, the Congress Government, has asked for machinery for textile mill manufacture. Is that consistent with your policy? The Hon. Premier said the other day that he was prepared to fight the Government of India tooth and nail. May I submit that, I do not propose to enter into a fratricidal warfare which will be between the gentlemen of the Congress. I have nothing to do with political parties and have little to do with the controversy. The Hon. Prime Minister said that he had the opinion of the Advocate-General. Sir, we have the highest respect for the opinions of Advocate-Generals. Let us drop the word 'Generals' from 'Advocate-Generals'; there are advocates and advocates and they differ. My friend, the Hon. the Law Member will bear me out on this matter; the Government launched on the prosecution of two innocent persons against their release on the advice of the Advocate-General. May I ask the Hon. Minister what was the result of the prosecution in the High Court? Your Advocate-General has let you down very badly and has given the impression that you, as a Government, were vindictive in carrying out this prosecution against two innocent persons established finally by the highest tribunal in the land, as innocent. Let not therefore the Hon. Prime Minister stick too closely and violently to the opinions expressed by the Advocate-General.

" There is another point of view on this textile policy. You want that the production of textile cloth in this Presidency should be curtailed. I am prepared to go to that extent. But, are you realizing to-day that there is a great void in regard to mill cloth in neighbouring countries? That void cannot be supplied by Japan. There is Malaya, East Indies, Burma who are crying for cloth. Are you going to tell us, if these mills produce cloth under your control and send it to other countries, they are not following your pledges? With due deference to everything that the Hon. Prime Minister and his colleagues have said, there is something still wanting, which men of average intelligence like myself, fail to follow in the Textile policy of the Government. In this connection, may I say this; we were greatly perturbed when Minister after Minister tried to out-herod herod and threw challenges to the mill-owners. They spoke of nationalisation, of acquiring mills by the Government. All forms of threats were held out. May I not suggest that this is not the time to think of acquiring mills when we have to set our own house in order; we have yet to learn the art of administration; it may take a little time.

" The next subject that was criticised was the producer-cum-consumer societies. I do not know anything about them. I am not a co-operator; I do not venture to express any definite opinion. It seems to me that this producer-cum-consumer society is very much like the tiger and the lamb sitting on the same table in a circus show and trying to have a hearty dinner. The interests of the producer are definitely and necessarily antagonistic to those of the consumers."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" We see such a thing in the circus."
(Laughter.)

[10th March 1947]

* DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ I am waiting to see how the masters of the circus—how the Government are going to see that such a combination takes place. Has the result of the co-operative movement been as satisfactory as we desire? This is an extension of the co-operative principle. Let me give one instance known to me. I am not expressing any rash opinion; let it not be taken as a general condemnation of the working of co-operative societies. I have very great respect for those who have been working in this field. I perfectly agree that if the co-operative societies are run on proper basis, they will solve many of the problems of this country. There are no two opinions about it.

“ But only in June last, I was in Kodaikanal. There is a consumer society there. I would like the Hon. Minister to see the proceedings of that society's annual meeting. The directors of the society were the first to violate all rules and exceed the rations that has been allotted to them. Why I mention the case of the Kodaikanal society is because, according to present standards, its Directorate is composed of the cream of the intellect of officialdom, prominent persons in the Judiciary in the Provincial Government and retired members of the services. These are the members who form the Directorate. If you find that, in that co-operative society the Directorate constituted can violate the fundamentals of honest directorship, may I not be pardoned if I have doubts whether this scheme should be so vigorously pursued and rushed. The Hon. Prime Minister quoted figures; hundreds of thousands have joined; lakhs of rupees have been subscribed. That itself raises in my mind a doubt with reference to these co-operative societies. When you recall that co-operative societies are diminishing, why do these people come in such numbers if it not be with the expectation of something different from what may be expected in the ordinary co-operative societies? I am not trying to state that this movement is bad. I wish to give a warning that in the haste with which these societies may be formed, there may be the likelihood of a danger which will ruin the whole of these co-operative societies.

12-45
P.M.

“ Sir, it has been said that trade channels will be impoverished. I quite agree that the setting up of these societies at this juncture for a temporary period will probably interfere with trade channels. But I have not much love lost for the trade channels. Chambers of Commerce all over have protested. They have sent us, Members of the Legislature, their long-winded resolutions. We welcome those resolutions, but may I ask them a question? ‘What have you done as a Chamber of Commerce? Did you put down corruption and black-marketing among your people? If you cannot do that, what right have you to expect the general public to support you in your grievances?’ No Chamber of Commerce has been able to deal with this question. I regret very much that the present producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies largely draw their support, because the Chambers of Commerce have not been in a position to separate the black sheep in their fold and to discriminate

10th March 1947] [Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar]

against the bad black-marketeer and trader as against the good marketer. That is the first lesson that these Chambers of Commerce have to learn much more in the future than in the past.

“ Sir, I do not know if you will allow me some more time ; if you do, I shall be most grateful.

“ I do want the Government to remember that in these producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies, there must be as much freedom as possible from Governmental control. The directors should be appointed, not by the Government nominating them, but by the shareholders themselves. I think it is so, but I am not sure—and I am anxious that it should be so. So far as the staff that is required is concerned, I have already suggested to this House that it must be through a Public Service Commission, that the members of the staff should be recruited. Supervision and check should be very much more than what obtains now in the best co-operative societies. Let me say this as a friendly warning and with no spirit of criticism; here you are dealing with foodgrains, with the essentials of the population; it is no use depending upon the ephemeral enthusiasm of this or that man, for after all, human nature being what it is, there is plenty of room for troubles to arise if efficient supervision and check are not there. Sir, the profits of these societies should be a minimum. The other day, I was surprised to find that in some co-operative societies 50 per cent profits and 35 per cent profits were made. It is entirely against the spirit of co-operation. What are those profits for? You take money from people and then you share it among the directors and others. The minimum amount of profits must be the aim of all co-operative societies. Sir, I had in all my life touch with one small co-operative society of which I was the ex-officio President, as being the Principal of the College. In the very first year of my Principalship, the secretary came to me and said we had 12½ per cent profit and the boys were prepared to give it to a charitable purpose. I said it was wholly wrong. ‘ You should not sell at a profit, except the barest profit sufficient to cover the expenses of running the co-operative society.’ That should be the spirit of co-operation and that is the ideal to be kept in view.

“ Sir, I now come to the Prohibition policy of the Government. That policy is an accepted fact. I raised some points of criticism on the occasion of the last Budget; but I do not propose to do so now, for I am too law-abiding a citizen. I request the Hon. the Law Minister to take note of this fact—to question the decisions of Government, once they are accepted by the Legislature. But after saying that, may I not say a few words about the Prohibition policy?

“ Sir, it would appear, not from Press reports but from the statement made by the Hon. the Premier himself, that the idea behind the Government was that they should introduce Prohibition in six more districts. This gave a handle to certain influential members of the Party to come in large numbers and shake their

[Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar] [10th March 1947]

fists and make the Government yield. The result was that two more districts were added on. You may say; 'What have you got to say to that? This is our party, we are there to settle our policy and the policy of the Government; who are you to say that?' I will not interfere with the Hon. the Premier and I might not have, even if I had known the facts, but for his statement here. What does the Hon. the Premier say? 'After the Budget estimates were fixed, the Government decided to extend Prohibition also to two more districts, Malabar and South Kanara, from the 1st October 1947. The further loss of revenue for the half year on account of this decision is Rs. 58 lakhs. When this decision was reached, it was too late to alter the budget figures and documents in accordance with it.' Sir, this Budget therefore does not represent the facts of the case. Is it proper for this House to have a Budget presented like that, because some members showed their big fists? Sir, it is the tail that is wagging the proverbial animal to-day and therein lies the greatest danger to the Treasury Benches. I want them to take the power of this House and not to take the power of the Party or the disgruntled elements of that Party; I want them to tell this House and the people, 'We have determined on various grounds that we should have the introduction of Prohibition in six districts'. Apart from the fact that you have ruined the Budget by including two more districts, is it not a fact that you are not prepared for that? For Prohibition in eight districts, have you got the staff? The other day when I was in Salem, I was shown a place in a village where some thousands of gallons of spirit were manufactured, and 200 and odd people were prosecuted and 100 people were sent to jail. That is not by any means a solitary instance. If you want Prohibition to succeed, you have to prepare yourself. Do you want Prohibition on paper? If so, go ahead; introduce Prohibition in all the 26 districts. What will happen? The money that should go to the poor man's relief will go somewhere else. And all that we would have in this world is the satisfaction of knowing that, we may be illiterate, we may be suffering from disease, we may be crippled, but when we die, we die a sober death and will be buried sober. That is the consolation we are getting in the Legislature by the manner in which Prohibition is being persecuted and prosecuted at the behests of those who do not share the responsibility that the Hon. the Prime Minister and his colleagues have necessarily to share. Sir, if I am a little vehement in this criticism, pardon me. I have no other intention but to suggest that these things should not recur in the future, that the Ministry-of-the-day should take courage in their hands to resist any attempt from whatever powerful group or clique or otherwise it may be—I do not know whether there is any group or clique, but I do know this, that at the last moment when you have prepared the Budget, when you are presenting it and when it is in the Press, you hastily withdraw it and you add those sentences and leave us with a budget that by no means represents the facts of the case.

" Sir, I should like to refer to a few points about Public Health. I know the Hon. Minister in charge of Public Health is very anxious

10th March 1947] [Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar]

to push many schemes of Public Health; but her hands are tied; her lips even are sealed. She cannot speak out what she feels, because party discipline stands in the way. She has studied the Bhore report with a purpose; she knows what changes are expected in the post-war reconstruction period. To-day the condition of affairs is most deplorable, both in regard to medical relief, in regard to public health and in regard to medical education. Sir, let me refer to medical education first. I wish to assure the Hon. Minister that we are as anxious as she is to promote the cause of medical education, to have more colleges opened as she wants. But what is the position? The Government applied for recognition of the Medical College at Madura; that College had no buildings, no appliances, no staff at that time. They have since sanctioned the staff, they have some implements, but the building is not there. We had a conference the other day through the courtesy of the Hon. the Minister for Public Health at which unfortunately, the Minister was not present, owing to indisposition, but the Parliamentary Secretary was there; the Surgeon-General of the day, the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University and my humble self presented our case. Do not misunderstand us if we cannot recognize this College; we have a larger obligation to look up to. The Indian Medical Council is there; it will come down on us; not only will it chastise the College that is non-existent, but the great danger is that all the colleges that are at present in the University and whose qualifications have been accepted, may not be recognized. That is the position to-day. I however gave this assurance that if by the 15th of June some building was put up sufficiently to give us hope that it would be completed by the end of December, we would allow the whole of the students to come and take their second year course; further that I would myself go to Madura, inspect those buildings and report to the Syndicate of the Madras University. In the absence of these, how do you expect me to co-operate with the Government? Can you say that the Madura Medical College is established? The same is the position with regard to the Guntur Medical College as I understand it from the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University. I would therefore request the Hon. the Minister to put up a fight—and when ladies put up a fight, it is very difficult for anybody not to say 'yes'. (Laughter.) We shall give you every support because this is a question where fundamentally it would be most unfortunate if a state of affairs were to arise, when the blame is shifted from one shoulder to another shoulder. I am therefore appealing to the Hon. Minister to take some steps to see that both the University and the Indian Medical Council are satisfied.

“ Sir, there is a great deal to be done in the Medical department. I am sure, the Hon. Minister has realized it. I do feel that in the changed circumstances of to-day, the whole of the department is to be reorganized; it is necessary for us to know definitely what are the lines on which that reorganization will take place, in what way medical education has to be improved; the question of the salaried services, the question of the honorary posts, in what way and to what extent they should be encouraged,—all

[Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar] [10th March 1947]

these things have got to be taken into consideration. I appeal to the Hon. the Minister to take steps to see that the general policy with regard to Medical education is laid down, so that all of us may know exactly where we stand. Some members have returned from the army and are waiting for months and months. A gentleman met me in Salem who had been interviewed eight months ago; but he cannot live on air, he came and settled down in Salem; perhaps he may not join the service at all when wanted. There are others who unfortunately are not even in that position. A decision has to be made and that soon. May I also repeat that the place of the honorary service, particularly in the teaching line, has to be carefully settled? I was sorry that some of the experienced honorary medical officers were changed just when they were most suitable to continue the job. I do not mind if you change the officers after a few years, if people are there for five years or more; but in regard to teaching, when you find good men, capable, efficient teachers, may I not ask you to consider the desirability of continuing them in their particular capacities as honorary surgeons and assistant surgeons. I am not speaking on behalf of any individual, but I am only speaking on behalf of the benefit that will accrue to medical education if that policy is followed.

"Sir, may I know if I can continue?"

MR. PRESIDENT:—"You need not be afraid of the clock, you may go on."

* DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR:—"In regard to Public Health, I wish to suggest that it is very necessary to have a comprehensive programme laid down for the whole Presidency. That also applies to education. There is no survey properly made of the needs of the different parts of this Province. The whole trouble with the previous Government was that they did not make a survey. If they had made a survey like that, if they had properly assessed the requirements of the different parts of the province, if they had given a helping hand to the weaker parts as they ought to have, my friends over there, for whom I have the greatest sympathy, will not be pleading for Royalaseema to-day and the question of the Andhra Province also would not have come to the forefront as it has come to-day. (Laughter.) I will have my say about it on another occasion. But, Sir, it is lack of a proper survey which is really responsible for the lopsided development although all of us share in the ill-development. Some people think they are worse off than others. A proper regional survey which takes into consideration the question of water-supply, the question of sanitation, the question of environmental hygiene, the question of buildings—these things are most important and vital for any public health survey and I beg of the Hon. the Minister to undertake this task sufficiently early so that when funds are available, she may be in a position to see that those funds are usefully diverted to proper purpose instead of being spent on a haphazard recommendation of this or that Director of Public Health, or this or that member of the Legislature on schemes which may not be capable of fulfilment but which are pending consideration. Sir, may I go on?"

10th March 1947]

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ I am prepared to allow you to go on till you finish.”

* DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—
“ Thank you very much.

“ I now come to a portion of the Budget which speaks of Harijan uplift. When my friend Mr. H. M. Jagannatham was beginning to read his tirade, I felt it was not within me to dispute many of the points he has stated. I am glad and grateful that the Hon. Minister in charge of Religious Endowments has been able to do almost a miracle. He has thrown open the doors of the temples in many places of this Province and I on behalf of everybody heartily thank him and congratulate him. But may I ask, Sir, whether he has thrown open the hearts of the people as well? And that counts much more than the doors of the temples. In a work-a-day world when you forget that there are such things as temples, naturally my friends seem to be enthusiastic about temples. I wish them all joy; let them go to every temple. But Sir, what is it that we find for Harijan uplift here? Sir, I speak with a certain amount of responsibility when I say that the feelings among the Harijans is such that it may not be conducive once again to the unity of this country. We all know the Poona Pact. I was present in Bombay as was my friend there when this Poona Pact was signed under circumstances which can be said to be phenomenally exciting. When the Poona Pact was signed we had hoped that the Harijans who had signed the pact would have an opportunity given to them to feel more than a sense of confidence, that they had signed something which would not be against their interests in the future. I ask, Sir, if the Congress after the Poona Pact had accepted the decision of the primary election of the Harijans, instead of trying to ferret out the last man on the Congress panel just because he has signed the Congress creed; to-day you find not only that opposition from the Scheduled Castes, but even my friends who might have been persuaded—let them not contradict me too vehemently—could have been persuaded to accept a similar form of joint electorate. You have ruined the possibility of all understanding by the manner in which you wanted your party politics to dominate the essential unity ideals of the country. Sir, I do not congratulate you on that; but even to-day there is a possibility in the changed circumstances of the country and in the manner in which we are now trying to progress. May I not appeal to the party in power, to the Hon. the Prime Minister who is a member of the Constituent Assembly to plead with those who are the leaders and dictators of society in India to-day that they may for the next two elections make it more or less a pact. We have asked one party to adhere to a pact. Why not you play the role of an equally willing partner in the pact that you will accept the persons who top the polls in the primary elections? Then, much of this feeling of disappointment, chagrin, disillusionment and hostility will cease on the part of community. I venture to make that suggestion in all humility, but with an entire satisfaction in my mind that that is the most important measure to take.”

[Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar] [10th March 1947]

“ Sir, I see that the Hon. the Prime Minister in his opening address has referred to the changes that are taking place at the Centre and has given us an idea as to the manner in which those changes will ultimately have great and tremendous effects in this country. I do hope that his forecast will be fulfilled. To-day we are standing on the brink of a precipice; to-day we are moving in such a rapid fashion that unless we take stock of the situation, we shall all go to the wall. The Budget has been presented. These sittings in the Assembly will certainly have to share the fate of something that is decided in the Centre. Sir, the pronouncement of the British Cabinet that they are quitting India in June 1948 is a momentous pronouncement, not for their sake, but for our sake. The implications of that pronouncement are so obvious. Sir, to-day unfortunately the position of India and Indians is very much like what it was in ancient Rome and what has been so beautifully described by Macaulay—

‘ Then none was for a Party,
Then all were for the State,
Then the rich man helped the poor,
And the poor man loved the rich;
Then lands were fairly parcelled.
The Romans were like brothers,
In the brave days of old;
But now Roman is to Roman,
More hateful than a foe.’

“ I did not transliterate in the manner in which it ought to be transliterated, but the fact is that if you can only substitute ‘ Indian ’ for ‘ Roman ’ that will express in clear and unambiguous terms the position to-day. It is no use trying to assess responsibilities. It is no use trying to assess blames; the fact is there. We have to get on and after all is said and done, Sir, may it not be that a single expression here or there may have taken a turn for the worse, that among all these arguments that have been let loose, there may be something which has perhaps been taken as much worse than it ought to have been. It was Marcus Aurilius, the great philosopher, who said ‘ If thy brother offends thee, think not of the offence that he had given, think rather that it is thy brother, and then you will find an entirely different picture presented to yourself.’ Sir, may I not appeal to the leaders on both sides of the House to realise that their differences are much more unreal than what they think. It was Omar Khayyam that said—

‘ A hair perhaps divides the false and true ’.

That is the real psychology. Omar Khayyam who is uttering his settled judgment of men's differences, whether of taste, opinion or creed, when he extols in the couplet—

‘ The grape that can with logic absolute,
The two and seventy jarring sects confute.’

“ I am afraid grape is not available to us and will not be available to us in a short time, but that is the actual lesson to take.

10th March 1947] [Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar]

“ I would beg of the hon. Members who have any influence with the leaders—I know them not and certainly I will never have any influence with them—to realize that in view of the altered circumstances of the case, it is not the Constituent Assembly that is going to settle this, it is the people of the country that are to lay down a constitution, a democratic constitution for 400 millions, an unheard of event in the history of humanity. For the first time, you are asked to give a solution to an experiment that baffles all imagination. That experiment can be solved only if you get the best, the wisest and the most statesmanlike of the people of this country. Are you so sure that all these commodities are available within your respective parties? Are there not men who can rise above these party limitations and who can give you a lead in these matters? So my suggestion would be this. I was very happy to find in this morning's paper that the great political party had extended an invitation, a cordial invitation to the Muslim League. I want it to be followed up. You must establish coalition Governments in every province and you must go out of your way. Now that the Ministry here is being reconstituted—we have been told that Madras is leading in everything, in Khaddar, in prohibition, in rationing, in asking people not to smoke and not to do so many things—may not Madras also lead in this matter? I would beg of this Council and of the Hon. the Prime Minister and his colleagues to tell the High Command that the only solution for the country to-day is to establish coalition Governments everywhere, that these coalition Governments must function for a period, say a year or two when the Britisher is expected to leave. If Indians are there, we need not worry when the new constitution comes into shape; if the coalition Governments can function for two or three years, if you can bring to bear on your task that magnanimous outlook which unfortunately was not always seen on the Treasury Benches, particularly at the time of replying to questions in this House. If you can bring to bear that large-hearted outlook and show that the Muslim brethren are not entitled to entertain those opinions, and if the Muslim League, especially in those Provinces where they are in authority, can say that they also reciprocate, and the Hindu brethren have no reason not only to feel frightened of them, but feel that they have got their elder brothers in the Province, when only you can get to that state, when the future of the country will be golden. How many patriots have passed away expecting to see something of the greatness of this country? The wine of life keeps oozing drop by drop, the leaves of life keep falling one by one; the sands of time are falling fast. There is no other opportunity if you miss this one. This is the bus that will take you to the grand ideal that we have all at heart. Give up the idea that because of your performance within the last quarter of a century, patriotism is confined only to the eastern side of this House and does not arise in the western side. Therein lies the greatest danger. Think of your brethren, the more so because you stand for ideals which ought to be gradually spread among the whole of the people. And may He in His infinite wisdom give the courage and statesmanship for the leaders to do what befits the opportunity and the occasion to see that India

[10th March 1947]

is a grand, great and prosperous country in the world of the future."

1-15 p.m. * SRI M. D. T. KUMARASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" Mr. President, Sir, after hearing the hon. speaker who spoke just now, I feel nervous to stand on my legs . . ."

DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" I will support you; do not worry."

SRI M. D. T. KUMARASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" Thank you."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I have no objection to your sitting and speaking." (Laughter.)

* SRI M. D. T. KUMARASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" Thank you, Sir, not necessary. Sir, the Budget presented before the House seems to provide for pet theories and pretty dreams ignoring the real needs of the people of the Province.

" A popular Government is expected to devise practical measures for promoting the welfare of the people.

" Though our Hon. Prime Minister deserves our heartfelt congratulations for prompt procuring of foodgrains and for averting a food crisis, still shortage of food and shortage of cloth are staring us in the face and no attempt has been made to solve the problem; nor do we find any provision for increasing the production.

" Sir, large sums are sought to be lavished and wasted on impracticable schemes involving heavy expenses or loss of revenue. Further, all the twenty-six districts are units of the Province and contribute to the provincial revenues; the needs of each district have not been considered and no equitable distribution has been made for carrying out the schemes already investigated or sanctioned.

" Everywhere, every available land has been cultivated with the available water. Unless fresh sources of irrigation or fresh storages are provided, the cry of grow more food is a cry in the wilderness.

" Sir, no attempt has been made and no provision has been so far made for providing iron gates over the surplus weir in the upper dam of Papanasam in Hope Lake in Tinnevely district as at Mettur. Such a provision would increase the capacity of the lake and would give an additional storage of at least one-fourth the present capacity.

" The consideration of the Manimuthur Dam and the restoration of the Sivilaperi tank have not been considered, provided and expedited.

" The extension of the electric and water power would be a boon to promote the industries in the district.

" The promoters of the textile mills in the Province are actually mourning and are actually praying day and night for the reversal of the policy of the present Government.

10th March 1947] [Sri M. D. T. Kumaraswami Mudaliyar]

“ Tinnevely and Palamcottah are sister municipalities on both sides of the river Thambraparni and protected water-supply has to be made from the bed of the same river. Still a combined scheme has not yet been adopted and insisted on by the Government.

“ For any and every activity, agricultural, industrial and commercial, good roads are essential and their maintenance in a good condition is an imperative necessity.

“ Sir, the abolition of the taluk boards and the deprivation of control on the part of the district boards have led to the complete neglect of village, country and urban roads and have almost paralysed the traffic and free movement of commodities. The present state of roads is a disgrace to any civilized country and is a handicap and obstruction to the progress of the district.

“ As far as possible, each item of revenue should be equitably and economically spent to the best advantage of the people. Diversion of funds from the religious to the secular side would be disastrous and would lead to bitterness and destroy the harmony of the people. The wishes of the donors should be respected and specific endowments should be administered according to the terms of the original grants.

“ Sir, litigation should be avoided as far as possible. The present provision in the Endowments Act that the cost of litigation should be borne by the respective endowments seems to have encouraged the Board in launching on litigation at the slightest provocation and on slender grounds. Such litigation should be checked and the Board should be directed to take independent legal advice before taking any matter to court. Sacred trusts are dragged to courts and spiritual gifts are used for material purposes. Temple premises are used for commercial purposes and the approaches are kept in unhealthy and insanitary condition.

“ Contributions made to the Health Department on festival occasions alone are not enough. Temples must have their own permanent and temporary establishments for ordinary and festival occasions, to look after the health of the pilgrims and to keep the premises and approaches in a neat, healthy and sanitary condition.

“ Be it religious, local, district or provincial administration, a contented staff is an absolute necessity. No work could be effectively done and no progress could be made without an efficient staff. Discontented staff could never be efficient. The cost of living has increased on many items even hundred-fold. A living wage should be provided. Want of funds cannot be a valid excuse. Ways and means should be found for solving the vexed problem of wages and salary.

“ Wasting real, solid revenue on impractical schemes, throwing away spindles, obstructing the growth of mills and revolution arising out of the present land tenure system cannot be tolerated by any civilized nation, especially when we have to face famine and starvation, Sir. The Government is increasing the ration

[Sri M. D. T. Kumaraswami Mudaliyar] [10th March 1947]

from ten to twelve ounces and *vice versa* for the healthy and wealthy while even the doctors hesitate to reduce the rations for their patients.

"Sir, public health and education are totally neglected and the provision made in the Budget for those items is only an eye-wash.

"For the sake of the country, for the sake of the starving millions and for God's sake, please do not experiment on speculative, impracticable and costly schemes till our people have at least one square meal a day.

"I thank you, Sir, for the opportunity given to me to express my views on the Budget."

* SRI N. VENKATACHALAMAJI :—"Mr. President, Sir, the Budget contains provisions for a number of items which are useful to the people. But the most important thing that the Government have to do is to make primary education compuisory. Most of the troubles our people are suffering from can disappear if people are educated.

"Sir, the Government grants for wells are not serving any useful purpose. In Vizagapatam district, the irrigation schemes must be pushed through. We want more foodgrains and unless there is water-supply for the fields when the rains fail, this cannot be had.

"The sales tax is acting as a great burden to the poor people. When the article passes through a number of hands, the sales tax is collected a number of times. So, the sales tax must be levied only at one stage like the Bengal Sales Act.

"In districts where prohibition is not introduced, country liquors are supplied to renters in fixed quantities and they are allowed to sell at their own rates. Hence there is any amount of profiteering. This is so not only in the case of country liquors but also in the case of opium. I suggest ceiling prices be fixed by Government for these.

"Last year, groundnut cake was allowed to be spoiled and by the time it was given by the Agricultural Department, the ryots found it unfit to be used as a manure. The Government should give strict instructions to the Agricultural Department Officers that fresh stocks should be taken from mills and before it is spoiled, it should be sold to the ryots.

"In the case of pulses, the Government should allow free movement from district to district fixing ceiling prices. In that case they can be obtained at fair prices in all the districts. At present the prices are very low in the places where they are produced and very dear in all other places.

"Sir, cinema shows are becoming more and more popular. The only chief entertainment for the workers and the poor people is the cinema. By increasing the entertainment tax, we are causing troubles to the poor. So, I would suggest that the enhancement should not affect the lowest class tickets.

10th March 1947]

[Sri N. Venkatachalamaji]

" The Government are insisting upon the Municipalities maintaining at least one Sanitary Inspector for every ten thousand of the population. The local bodies are spending most of the revenue on their staff. The sanitation of towns has not improved by employing more Sanitary Inspectors. The Health Officer can look after the sanitation of the towns if they are helped by Sanitary Inspectors, one for every 25,000 of the population.

" Some of the roads of Municipalities have been taken over by the Government but they are not maintained by the Government well. So, it is better they are handed back to the Municipalities and grants given to the Municipalities for their maintenance.

" Sir, the Government are entrusting sale of foodgrains, cloth, coconut oil, etc., to co-operative societies and stores on the plea that merchants are indulging in black-marketing. The black-market will disappear when corruption among officials ceases. The anti-corruption staff is not working satisfactorily. The co-operative stores in a number of cases are managed by directors who are self-seekers and profiteers. The Government are allowing a profit of two annas for every maund of paddy to the co-operative stores. If the accounts of the co-operative stores are scrutinized, it can be seen that their profits are eight annas and twelve annas a maund. Is it not black-marketing?

" The scales of Pandits in all schools are not satisfactory. They are in no way inferior to the other teachers. Their lot must be improved. We have to give proper weight to our own culture.

" So, Sir, I appeal to the Hon. the Premier to consider all these points and to make necessary changes in the Budget in the light of my remarks."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" The House now adjourns and will meet again at 2-30 p.m."

(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

SRI K. VENKATASWAMI NAYUDU :—" Mr. President, Sir, I wish to offer a few remarks on the Budget to-day. I wish the hon. Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar were here now. He remarked bitterly that the Ministers . . ."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" If the hon. member had given me notice, I would have asked him to be present."

SRI K. VENKATASWAMI NAYUDU :—" It sometimes happens that he is otherwise engaged; it is not our mistake. I said that it would have been better if he were here to hear my remarks on his speech. Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar is a very accomplished speaker and he is an able doctor too. He knows how to cut without pain; he knows also how to give sugar-coated pills, but what I wish to say is, we should not be carried away by his eloquence . . ."

K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" They are sold by you." (Laughter.)

[10th March 1947]

* SRI K. VENKATASWAMI NAYUDU :—" Though he administers them he won't take them on my advice. So, Sir, I was saying we should not be carried away by his eloquence, but we have to carefully analyse and see if what all he said is correct.

" First of all, he spoke about Advisory Boards. I also wish to say that it is very good to have Advisory Boards on all important subjects so that Government can get the best possible advice on various matters. In this connexion, I would like also to say that we should have an Advisory Board for the administration of temples. Though at present we have a separate Minister for Endowments, yet it is necessary we should get the best possible advice on the administration of religious endowments. My own opinion is, very soon this department must become a department of Government so that the Government may take the fullest responsibility for the administration of our temples."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" You mean the Endowment Board? "

* SRI K. VENKATASWAMI NADUDU :—" Now it is a Commission, Sir. I wish it to be a department of Government so that Government may take the fullest responsibility and they can be advised by a good committee for this purpose.

" I don't agree with the learned Doctor when he referred to the interference of the members of Legislature. I think he gave a very exaggerated picture of this interference. We are here, Sir, to help the Government, to give counsel to the Government and to see that the Government is properly administered. When we are in our constituencies, our influence will be felt by the authorities, but on that account it should not be told that it is a bad influence. I know that the Government is sufficiently strong enough to protect their services and the services are sufficiently entrenched in their position that they will not be baffled by our interference. So it should not be said that members should not interfere, on the other hand, they have every right to say what they feel on the administration of various departments of Government. As I said, the services are sufficiently strong; they know what to do and what not to do and it is not correct to say that we will baffle the services and no member of the House is entitled to say that this interference is far too much. I do not think any such extra influence was exercised by the members of this House.

" Another matter, Sir, was, the learned Doctor criticised the Chambers of Commerce that they have not done their duty properly. He criticised them rather in strong terms saying that the Chambers have not put down black-marketing (Sri C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar : ' He was correct in the statement ') with great deference to the views of my revered friend, Mr. Muthuranga Mudaliar, I have to say that the Chambers have done their best to see that black-marketing was put down. The big businessmen have always tried to see that the prices are put low. Horlicks is sold at Rs. 3-6-0 and where it may be possible to sell it at Rs. 6-12-0 because the price of everything is doubled, it is allowed to remain at Rs. 3-6-0 by all businessmen. If some petty businessmen have

10th March 1947] [Sri K. Venkataswami Nayudu]

raised the price, I do not think the whole trade must be found fault with because of a little black-marketeer. Black-marketing is everywhere; corruption is also everywhere. Government is doing its best to put it down. Can we say that if corruption has not been completely put down, the Government are not trying their best to put it down? The Chambers of Commerce who have got a very great duty towards trade and commerce are doing their level best to see that black-marketing is put down. As a matter of fact black-marketing is going down.

" Now we want the de-control of all goods. I am glad controls are going away in various departments; control has been taken away with respect to motor cars, drugs and medicines. Now in the drug market you find the prices rapidly going down and it is very necessary that we should come back to normal conditions. It is a long time since the war came to a close and we should not always be thinking of war conditions and perpetuate war conditions. Though, of course, with regard to food-stuffs, control may be necessary for some time longer because we must take all possible precautions to see that food-stuffs are secured to the people, I would say that in respect of all other things, controls must disappear as quickly as possible because that is the only way to come back to normal conditions and to restore the confidence of the people so that they may think that normal conditions have been restored. In this connexion, I would like to say that it is not everybody that can become a trader, just as everybody cannot become an artisan. A blacksmith's son may become a blacksmith, so that in trade the trading community have to develop their traditions and it is necessary that the trade channels should be protected if good business has to be carried on and if prices have to go down. It is, therefore, very necessary, Sir, that the normal trade channels must be allowed to function.

" Now, we have the co-operative movement and the co-operative societies are doing a great deal and the Ministry wants to encourage the co-operative movement and to see that it takes the upper hand in all matters. I have no objection to their doing so but what I feel is that the normal trade channels must be made a balancing factor or rather the co-operative societies must be a blancing element for trade channels. Then only these two channels will try to lower down the prices and get the trade into normal conditions. If you upset or destroy one, the other will get the upper hand and then trouble will arise. It is therefore very necessary that we must have the normal trade channels also developed.

" Sir, the war has damaged many things and we have not yet been able to repair the damage quickly and so Government must do two things. First of all, they must see that war damages are repaired as quickly as possible and then other important and forward schemes put through. The Hon. the Premier has studied the Province with schemes of Congress ideology. It may be felt doubtful by some whether all the schemes can be put through. Of course, it will take a long time for the people to realize that these are for the betterment of the country, but till, then there

[Sri K. Venkataswami Nayudu]

[10th March 1947]

will be some amount of confusion of thought on this matter. However, I dare say that some of the schemes for instance, the Khadi Scheme and other similar schemes are sure to benefit the country and that they will take the upper hand very soon.

“ Then, Sir, as a City man, I have got to say something about the City itself. It is very necessary that this capital City, where all the people of the Province come and where Government is functioning and where people come from various parts of the Province to settle here, we are finding great difficulty in the matter of accommodation. Of course, people in the City have their own houses, but in respect of people coming from outside, it is very necessary that they should have accommodation. I am very glad that the Government have accepted the suggestion of my friend, Mr. Anthoni, for the appointment of a committee to go into the question of devising proper methods to solve the housing problem. In my opinion, the first step that Government should take will be big housing schemes in the City and see that the congestion is relieved. I am very glad that the City limits have been extended; it was not at the choice of the Corporation that it was extended, but Government asked us whether we would like to have more territory and the Corporation was only too glad to agree. Now that we have got a Greater Madras, I think it is necessary that Government should provide adequate funds so that all parts of the City are developed. For instance, Saidapet requires several things to be done, for conditions in Saidapet cannot be compared with conditions in the City. It requires various schemes relating to underground drainage, water-supply, etc., and these require a lot of money. I would, therefore, request the Government to allot sufficient funds to see that the conditions in the whole of the extended area are improved so that people who come into the City will have ordinary human comforts.

“ Another thing, I would say is this. I am glad to find that the Government have taken up the nationalization of bus services and that they are making an experiment in the City of Madras to start with and very shortly, I understand, a few buses will be put on the road. I would suggest as a first step in the nationalization of transport they should take up the transport services in the City including the tramways and if the scheme is tried and found to be successful, it may be extended to all other towns. As soon as possible the whole bus service should be taken up so that they can nationalize at least one important service in this Province. It is well known that in other important towns in the Province, the transport services are not good. In other big towns in the Presidency, the roads are very bad whereas in Madras we should thank ourselves that we have got tarred roads. In other places, owing to the bad nature of the roads, there is a lot of dust nuisance and dust nuisance brings in its train so many diseases. It is therefore necessary that all the towns must be improved so that the congestion may be removed and especially when a large number of people go to those places naturally the sanitary conditions ought to be as good as possible.

10th March 1947]

[Sri K. Venkataswami Nayudu]

“ Sir, these are some of the ideas that have suggested themselves to me and I think this House will be able to see still greater progress in the near future than what we had last year.”

2-45
p.m.

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—

باغبان فصلی خزان دیکھ کے کھر بیٹھ رہا
 اڈا پر اخواہوں نے بھی باغ کا جانا چھوڑا
 اے الفت بلبل کہ نہ چھوڑا تنہا
 گل پژمرده پہ بیٹھی پری کہتی یہ صدا *
 حیف در چشم ردن صحبت یار آخر شد
 روئے گل صیر بدیدیم و بہار آخر شد *

I shall translate the meaning for the benefit of my friends. Sir, a rough translation of the verses that I have just now repeated is : The gardener in the days of winter abstained from going to the garden. Those who went for a change and enjoy the pure air and fragrance of the flowers have given up their resort to the garden but praise be to the loyalty and faithfulness of the nightingale which did not leave the decayed flower alone and is sitting on it and praying for the dawn of spring.

“ I feel highly reluctant, Sir, to embarrass the Hon. the Premier and his remaining loyal and faithful colleagues who still cling to their seats in the Ministry and who are in a disturbed state of mind by the unsparing criticisms of the Budget.”

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ We are not in a disturbed state of mind. My hon. friend may take it.”

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ I know Sir, the Hon. Premier is a courageous fighter. Let us pay that compliment to him but a state of disturbance is in the minds of the people. The people of this Province are feeling uncertain about what the position of the Province will be. I have therefore tried to find some redeeming features in the Budget but let me confess that I have failed in my attempt.

“ The Budget, Sir, appears to me to be a pitiful exhibition of the financial and administrative incompetence of the present Government which provides nothing but a dismal reading and generates disturbed forebodings for the future of this Province. The fact that during the two consecutive budgets of the present Congress Governments in this Province large sums have been drawn from the Revenue Reserve Fund, for the accumulation of which the credit properly goes to the Advisers' regime, is proof, if proof were needed, that the so-called national schemes of the present Ministry are only going to lead the Province into financial disaster. The stark picture has been envisaged by the Premier himself in the concluding portions of his Budget speech. He says—

‘ Owing to the large expenditure on subsidizing the sale of foodgrains and to the introduction of Prohibition and other ameliorative measures such as village reconstruction and Harijan uplift, the extension of

[Abdul Latif Farookhi Sahib Bahadur] [10th March 1947]

pulsory primary education, etc., deficits on Revenue Account are anticipated in the current year and the budget year. These deficits have to be met by drawing on the Revenue Reserve Fund. The balance at the credit of this Fund on the 1st April 1948 is expected to be Rs. 22.31 crores. I am sure that the House will agree that it will not be wise to allow revenue deficits to recur regularly in subsequent years and rely merely on meeting them from the balance in the Revenue Reserve Fund, as that would result in a very difficult and unsatisfactory position as soon as that limited balance had been exhausted."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" To-morrow being the last day for the general discussion of the Budget, I would like to know how many more members still want to speak and I request them to give their names so that I may adjust the time available."

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Large sums, Sir, are squeezed from the poor people by way of tax and these amounts are being extravagantly wasted on unwanted schemes.

" Now, Sir, let me come to one of the most hotly discussed problems, viz., the producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies. The Ministry has been very critical of the merchant community. I do not hold any brief for them. There may be some black sheep among them, there may be some confirmed black marketers but how do these producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies furnish a remedy for wiping out the sins of omission and commission of the merchants? While condemning the merchants for earning large profits the Government breathes hot and cold in the same breath when it takes pride in announcing to the public that some of these societies recently set up in Malabar have earned profits ranging from 25 to 50 per cent. It is needless to state that the poor people who form the majority of the population of this Province and who cannot invest any money for purchasing the shares of these Societies cannot at all expect to be benefited by the profits made by these societies. Even when the so-called middlemen have been removed there has been no appreciable decrease in the prices of rice and other essential foodstuffs but on the contrary, the tendency has been towards an increase and this provides a sad commentary upon the whole experiment. The fact is that these societies are more often than not controlled by a single man. Ask the man in the street about these societies and he will show how disappointed he is with this new experiment of the Government. There are complaints from villages in the Chingleput district and Sriperambudur taluk that the agents of the procurement societies do not turn up in time and that they the producers suffer for want of money to pay the kist. Ask the people of Malabar and Andhra Desa about Mr. Kapur, I.C.S., who is put in charge of these societies and they will tell the Government what they feel about this officer. When Mr. Bhima Rao the other day spoke a little bit of his mind regarding the Public Safety Bill, the Premier remarked that the latter did not know about his own constituency but here I am constrained to remark that the Premier does not know what the people of Andhra Desa of which he is the great leader, feel with regard to his scheme and its guardian, Mr. Kapur. In spite of large investments of money Muslims have studiously been excluded from the

10th March 1947] [Abdul Latif Farookhi Sahib Bahadur]

directorates of these societies and if at all one or two have been taken here and there, they are of the Congress way of thinking. The credit for this exclusion of Muslims goes not in a small degree to Mr. Kapur. From this it is evident that these societies which are carefully given the outward appearance of innocent non-political bodies designed to help the poor and the helpless are in fact intended to serve as powerful instruments to strengthen the Congress and suppress others who are opposed to its creed or else there seems to be hardly any need for the replacement of the normal trader by such co-operative societies. As I have already pointed out a change in the system of distribution has in no way improved the situation even though the Government have to pay very heavily for it. It is felt by prominent Congressmen themselves that the Government have resorted to coercion in collecting share capital for the new societies and that the measures adopted by the Government are even more reprehensible than those followed in collection of funds for the war. In no district was the scheme less wanted than in Malabar where more than hundred thousand consumers have joined in protesting against it in a memorial to the Premier and yet we have been told that subscriptions amounting to a large sum have been offered by the rich and the poor in that area. The funds accumulated for them show that the societies are to function not merely when the present scarcity of goods lasts but at all times and this is evidence of the main purpose that they are to serve—the upkeep of a political organization which will leave no liberty to merchants or the people in general save those who carry out its will.

“I do not think, Sir, that anything more is necessary to show that these societies are unwanted by the people of this Province.

“Let me then come to the question of Public Health and Medicine. They appear to be sleeping departments. The Government School of Indian Medicine is a pestering sore. There has been more strikes in that school during the last seven years than in the worst paid industrial establishments of this Province. It is said, Sir, that a considerable sum amounting to no less than Rs. 7,500 was paid by the Government to an Ashram at Avadi. Let me not mention the name of the gentleman who has taken 3 p.m. it. I do not like to embarrass the Ministry. Such acts of generosity, if my information is correct, Sir, were not at all encouraged by the previous Congress Ministry, of which Mr. C. Rajagopalachari was the Premier. He refused to grant any subsidy to the same Ashram. Such being the case, it seems to me incomprehensible how this sort of subsidy is being given to persons closely connected with the authorities who are responsible for running the Government.

“It is a great disappointment to see that no provision has practically been made for medical relief. In support of what I say, let me quote the Hon. the Premier himself in his Budget speech. He says—

‘No one regrets more than myself that there are many crying needs for which it has not been possible to provide adequate funds in the Budget, for example provision of funds for medical and public health relief in villages.’

[Abdul Latif Farookhi Sahib Bahadur] [10th March 1947]

I ask the Hon. the Premier in all humility, with due regard and respect to his age and position what is the meaning of saying that he has got the interests of the villages at heart, that he means to accomplish village uplift, if there are no funds provided for any medical relief for them? It is only with life and the longevity of life that many other things can exist; if people cannot live their whole life, if they are not going to live long, if the mortality becomes great—it is already great, if it becomes greater and if people are going to die in their prime and their lives are to be curtailed when they have ordinarily many more years to live, what is the necessity for khadi schemes, for producer-cum-consumer society schemes and various other schemes? Who is going to benefit if people are not going to live long and enjoy them? The primary need, the most important need and the most important duty of a State is to see that people live long and it is the duty of the State to see that the lives of the people are preserved and education and enlightenment are given to them. It is only after that that other things can be thought of. I feel, Sir, that whatever may be said by the Ministry with regard to village uplift, rural uplift or any uplift it has to be shown in a practical way that the people are going to be helped; it has yet to be shown in actual practice that they are going to be helped and it has yet to come from the heart.

“Then there are schemes for the benefit of ex-service men. One is naturally inclined to ask what these labour contract societies are and for whose benefit a provision of nearly 30 lakhs of rupees has been made. Is it really intended for the benefit of ex-service men or is it going to benefit any individual gentleman? It is very embarrassing on occasions like this when Members have to give full expression to what they feel—I rather feel very reluctant—to bring in personalities. The difficulty seems to me that Government are not going to be reformed unless such things are brought to their notice. Are they going to benefit gentleman like Mr. Ramakrishna, I.C.S.? Are these societies run by a semi-qualified person who was formerly associated with Mr. Ramakrishna in the Vuyyur Sugar factory? Does Mr. Ramakrishna dictate to Government over the heads of the Ministry, Secretary and Engineers what contract should be given to the societies and that the tenders from the societies should be accepted even if the rates quoted happen to be the highest?

“Coming to the Industrial and Finance Corporation, I ask what need there is for it at all, when the Government are not going to start any industries at all nor are they permitting any new industries to be started except in the cases of some of their own favourites. Why should such a huge sum of 51 lakhs be provided in the Budget as Government's subscription in the share capital of this institution?

“I do not wish to say much about transport and nationalization of transport. If there is going to be no road development, I do not see how the Government can be justified in saying that they want to nationalize transport. The Government of whose

10th March 1947] [Abdul Latif Farookhi Sahib Bahadur]

legislature we, fortunately or unfortunately happen to be Members, claim to be more concerned with the development of villages and yet there is no proper road development, what is the use of saying that they are determined upon the nationalization of transport? If this transport affair is going to be handled in the same way—I do not find the Minister for Road Development here—in which permits for motor cars and lorries were reported to have been given I think it is much better that the Government drops this proposal altogether.

“ I shall now enter upon the most important question, perhaps a question, a reference to which is as painful to me as it is to the Hon. Ministers there.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ You can save pain to both if you choose.”

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ I am thankful to you, Sir, for the suggestion. But it is necessary sometimes to communicate your pain to the surgeon to use his knife. Therefore, we have to point out that a particular portion of the body is becoming deteriorated and the poison is spreading throughout the whole body (Dr. Syed Tajuddin Sahib Bahadur : ‘ From the top or from the bottom? ’) My hon. friend Dr. Tajuddin may know it very well and I shall leave it to him to apply his knife; but I shall only make a suggestion that the knife should be applied and he will do it in practice.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ You may go on to the point.”

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ I am coming to the most important question, the textile question. I remember once—I am referring to a personality whose name I revere—it was the late lamented Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and he used sometimes to make very humorous remarks—he was smoking a cigarette and when Gandhiji asked him to boycott foreign goods, he replied, ‘ Yes, Mahatmaji, I am burning foreign goods.’ I am glad that the Hon. the Premier is happy to hear his (Panditji’s) name as I am happy. He (Panditji) also once remarked that consistency in politics is the virtue of an ass. (Laughter.) If that is so, let me say, that this Ministry is following a policy of inconsistency. My hon. friend Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar referred this morning to the inconsistency in the textile policy between the various Congress Governments as well as the Centre. I shall refer to what the Member in charge of the Department in the Interim Government had said about the textile policy of the Madras Government. This is a cutting from the ‘ Indian Express ’ from which I am quoting and the heading itself will be sufficient to show what the views of the various Congress leaders are with regard to this question; and this is the heading: ‘ Prakasam’s stand altogether wrong; C.R. on Madras textile policy; reply in the Central Assembly ’. I do not want to read the matter below.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ We all know it; if you have anything of your own to point out, you may do so.”

[10th March 1947]

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ Repetition of things of this kind will certainly go a long way to help the Ministry to understand and appreciate the feelings of the people of the country ; I think, Sir, repetition will go a long way to change their policy and we shall be only sorry if they are not going to give it up and are going to be stubborn. Let me say that it is widely spoken throughout the whole Province, that if at all any trouble had come upon the Ministry and they are losing ground in the popular mind, it is due chiefly if not solely to their policy in regard to textiles. In more than one Congress governed Provinces the demand for machinery has been made. Even at the time a speech was delivered at Tenkasi by my hon. friend Mr. Bhashyam, I was under the impression that the Madras Government was not opposed to the coming in of machinery and spindles here. I felt that there must be some justification when the Congress party came into power—I am not blaming them for it but I appreciated their stand—they would give a fillip to the khadi movement, which they considered to be the token of a national spirit. The Minister at Tenkasi is reported to have deplored the attitude taken by the Central Government and he said—these are words which have to be specially marked—‘ the allotment made to the Provinces of spindles and machinery was not likely to be received for the next four or five years and till then khadi was the only thing available for the clothing needs of the population.’ ”

“ That is an important pronouncement on the part of a responsible Minister that this Government was constrained to compel people to weave and wear khadi on account of the fact that it was not possible for the coming four or five years to get spindles and machinery, and that, Sir, was exactly in consonance with the policy adopted in various other Congress Provinces—not only there, but at the Centre as well. The shortage of cloth has been so severely felt that the Government of India have decided that schemes proposed for rationalizing production of mill cloth should be referred to the *Ad Hoc* Departmental Committee, etc. Again, Sir, the most important thing is this. The desirability of working three shifts whenever possible has already been impressed on the mill industry by the Government of India. The Government are also considering the possibility of increasing the hours of work where only two shifts are possible by either increasing the working day or by ‘ staggering ’ hours of work so as to keep the machines going during the midday interval. These measures are intended to increase production.” Reference was made to the textile policy of the Orissa Congress Ministry and the United Provinces Congress Ministry. I have pointed out what the Hon. Mr. Bhashyam himself has said. Such being the case, will it be too much for us to expect of the Hon. Prime Minister to state that while he is encouraging khadi schemes he is in no way opposed to the expansion of the mill industry in this Province, without which it is not possible for the people of this Province to clothe themselves? This complaint was made during the last Budget session. It is being repeated often and often, and now let us see what the shortage of cloth is.”

10th March 1947]

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I wish the hon. member is more quick. There are three more of his friends to speak, and some more on this side. There will not be much time to-morrow, because the Hon. the Premier must have some good time to reply to the whole debate. I wish to make it clear"

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Even if I do not cover all the points, I shall sit down whenever you ask me."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I do not like to ask any hon. member to sit. I am just telling that we are coming to the end of debate, and we must know the importance of time. Please therefore try to co-operate with me in trying to finish your points quickly."

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Sir, I am missing the paper cutting (laughter). (Dr. Tajuddin: Also the trend!) (more laughter). If the trend is missed"

MR. PRESIDENT :—" The Hon. Premier will come to your help."

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I know, Sir, in spite of all our bitter criticisms, the Hon. Premier has always been kind to come to our help, and I am sure he will not fail us this time. It is his geniality of temper that not only members opposite but also we on this side appreciate. Sir, there is a shortage of about seven million yards of cloth, and this shortage cannot be made good unless and until the Madras Congress Ministry changes its policy with regard to textiles. I shall come now—I have to run up, because you have ordered me to finish soon."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" Do not take it as an order. I was only telling you."

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" We, in this House, feel that there is an order and that should be obeyed. Sir, we are living in times when it is highly necessary that mass education should be given to people. The former Education Minister—a good man, but people say that he is a stiff-necked man—was not able to understand the difficulties of people with regard to education, particularly the difficulties of Muslims. It was long ago that one of the great leaders of India, Mr. Gokhale, introduced his Primary Education Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council. Are we to think that our present Ministers are only thinking of those days? Are we to think that they have just woke up from their sleep and want to give education to people only in the piecemeal manner which nobody in these days will appreciate? A bold education policy to run into the very hearts of villages, an education which will make people understand that they are really independent—independence we can get in 1948—is needed. I do not express any sanguine hopes about it. It is the Congress which says we shall get independence in 1948. I wish we get it earlier. But what is the use of independence, I ask, if people are not educated? They will not be in a position to retain that independence. Therefore, I only appeal to the

[Abdul Latif Farookhi Sahib Bahadur] [10th March 1947]

Hon. Minister—whoever may be in charge of Education now—I think it is the Hon. Mr. Bhashyam, whether it is only a temporary portfolio for him or whether he is going to be the permanent Education Minister—it is necessary that a bold education policy should be adopted. Then, illiteracy will go, people will realize their significance and importance, and will feel they are independent or they should be independent. With regard to Muslim education, I am only sorry that the replies given on the floor of the Legislative Assembly do not in any way conduce to create a hope in the minds of the Muslims that there is a change of attitude on the part of the Congress Ministry towards the Muslims. A very modest demand of ours was thrown out both in the Assembly and in this House when we said that adequate representation should be given to the Muslims on the Senate and Syndicate of the Andhra and Annamalai Universities. Sir, the question of language has always been a perturbing factor. Sir, the Holy Prophet asked his followers to seek knowledge even though it might be in China—it is easy to go to China nowadays, but in those days it was very difficult. From that we can imagine what importance did the Holy Prophet attach to education—education not only to men but to women also. Because one of the sayings Thome High School.”

طلب العلم نريضة علي كل مسلم ومسلمة

This means, seek education—education not only to Muslim men, but Muslim women also. Therefore, Sir, a Muslim will be least reluctant to get education in any language, education in sciences, etc. We have been the pioneers in the invention of several sciences. We shall not in any way oppose any language, be it Tamil or Telugu or Kanarese or Malayalam or even Chinese or Latin. Sir, I took Latin as my second language when I was a student in the San Thome High School.”

MR. PRESIDENT:—“It is very good!”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO:—“Let us have some Latin proverbs.” (Laughter.)

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR:—“Such being the case, Sir, I do not in the least feel that Muslims will be averse to any language. We shall certainly welcome the imparting of education in any language. We shall certainly try to learn as many languages as possible. But I ask why this aversion on the part of the Ministers to impart education to Muslims in Urdu which is their mother tongue? I am sorry, Sir, I have to quote a number of times from the statements made by Mr. Rajagopalachariar.”

MR. PRESIDENT:—“Let them come as if they are your own.”

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR:—“No, Sir; if they are my own, it would not create an impression on the other side. I want to give the lie direct to those who say

10th March 1947]

[Abdul Latif Farookhi Sahib Bahadur]

that Urdu is not the mother tongue of Muslims and that Urdu should not be taught. Mr. Rajagopalachariar said that he had positive proof of this view in the Osmania University where all subjects are taught in Urdu. I ask this Ministry what objection can they have, and why should they at all object to Muslims demanding that education should be imparted to them in their mother tongue, which is Urdu. If there is no insistence on the other side that they will not impart education to Muslims in Urdu, I do not think there will be any insistence on our part to say that we are not going to learn any language except Urdu. It is a question that should be carefully considered by the Ministry, and if they want that Muslims also should be given equal opportunities in the field of education in this Province, it is necessary that this right of the Muslims to be educated in their mother tongue, namely, Urdu, should be recognized.

“ Sir, there is another very delicate question, about which 3-30
views have been expressed on the floor of the other House. Sir, it P.M.
is felt that the various schemes of the Government, namely, Grow More Food Campaign, schemes of Post-war Reconstruction, Village reconstruction, Khadi scheme and Cottage Industries scheme are to be termed as ‘grow more job schemes’ for the supporters of the Ministry and the Congress. (Interruption) yes, ‘create more jobs’. Sir, it is certainly a very delicate subject, and one finds himself in a rather embarrassed position when he has to say what he feels on a very delicate subject like this. So I wish to say, that it is all in a spirit of friendship and in a spirit of well-intentioned suggestion that we have to offer these remarks, and not in a spirit of antagonism. Then, when these jobs are created, people feel, though it may be without justification, but we must as popular representatives pay regard to the wishes and the views of the man-in-the-street. It is not certain classes alone, but the masses as well feel like that. They feel—but let me say, I do not for one moment agree with what the people feel, but yet I have to state it and point it out so that there may be caution,—people feel this is nepotism and there is corruption in Government service from top to bottom. And this is the view given expression to not only by the ordinary man in the street, but it has found a place in the press also. I shall read one or two sentences here. In opening the conference of provincial yarn merchants on 27th January last an important gentleman made these remarks :—

‘ There was corruption everywhere in the Government, and that should be ended. From the Secretariat down to the lowest peon there was corruption. The Textile Department was not free from it, and as a result, men who could not distinguish between yarn and string had got yarn licences.’

As though this is not enough complaints have gone to higher quarters, and they found expression from the lips of an important personality, who is here now, the President of the Indian National Congress, Mr. Acharya Kripalani.”

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—“ He is not here, in this House.”

[10th March 1947]

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ By here, I meant, in the city. Acharya Kripalani, while addressing a public meeting at Ranchi on 7th February 1947 referred to a number of complaints he had received against Congress governments that they had not done what was expected of them in the matter of easing the food and cloth situation and checking black-marketing, bribery and corruption.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ You don't find Madras in it.”

A VOICE :—“ Madras Province is excluded, you see.”

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ I am glad for the interruption. Sir, it is a general statement Acharya Kripalani has made. What you say will be correct, if he had said, ‘barring Madras these are the complaints with regard to other Provinces (laughter). Even though what you say may not be correct, I only wish it were so with regard to Madras. I only implore the Hon. Premier to appoint an independent committee with a High Court Judge to preside over its deliberations to find out what is the real state of affairs. It is not sufficient merely to be just, but you must also appear to be just. Caesar's wife should not only be chaste, but she must be above suspicion. I want Madras Government and this province, of which we are proud to be the inhabitants, to be above suspicion like Caesar's wife.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ Why do you restrict that quality to Caesar's wife alone.” (Laughter)

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ I do so because that is the proverb. But it can be true, Sir, if I may say so, of every daughter of India. I am certain, Sir, that Indians yield to none; our ladies, our sisters, our mothers. (A voice : ‘ Daughters too! ’) and daughters too irrespective of caste or creed, whether Hindus, Muslims, Christians or Depressed Classes, whoever they may be, from the point of view of integrity and chastity, I say, they will not yield to anybody, whether it be Caesar's wife or anybody's wife. But, Sir, it is necessary, as I said, that this Ministry should appear to be above board. I am certain there are Hon. Ministers—and I for one do not suspect any one of them—who will not connive at any such thing and who are far above those things themselves. So far as I am concerned I will be the last man to accuse any Hon. Minister of the charge of conniving at any such thing. But when there is a feeling in the public, when it has gone to the press and when it has gone to the notice of Acharya Kripalani, I think, it is high time, we institute an independent inquiry to show to the world that the charges levelled are groundless and false. I request Hon. Ministers to bear that in mind.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ I suppose the hon. member is coming to a close. He has nearly taken one hour. Hereafter I will ring the bell and I expect hon. members to sit down five minutes after that.”

10th March 1947]

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" There are some more points I would like to deal with."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" But there are other friends of yours who want to speak."

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" In that case I will leave out the minor points. Let me say a word with regard to the entertainments tax. (At this stage the bell was rung.) I do not see why there should be a share for the Government in the entertainments tax. I can understand if they levied cent per cent tax on a particular industry or project, but I cannot understand how one-third share is to be claimed by the Government not on the net profits but one-third of the net income. I do not know how these people are going to pay."

THE HON. SRI K. KOTI REDDI :—" May I say for the information of the hon. member, except ten per cent of the collection, the rest is to be given over to the local boards."

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" But the fact that you levy the tax stands. You are only robbing Peter to pay Paul."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I don't think you are correct. They impose a particular tax, so much percentage, not one-third of the collection of the tax. It is a regular tax."

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Whatever that may be, it is a very unjust tax. (Laughter.) When I was a Member of the Central Legislative Assembly in 1927 a committee was appointed for the development of cinema industry in this country. I do not know, if you are going to levy this tax, how these people can make both ends meet, how their status could be maintained and how this tax can be paid by them and how the cinema industry can develop."

" With regard to the services, there are no Muslim superintendents in the Revenue, Local Administration and Legal Departments. There is a number of gazetted posts in the Secretariat. For instance, there are Secretaries, Additional Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, Under Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries. But not a single Muslim holds any of these posts although it will be too late in the day to contend that there are no qualified Muslims to hold these posts. In the Registration Department all the 42 vacancies of District Registrars which arose for ten long years from 1935 to 1945 were given to non-Muslims. If the rule of communal rotation had been followed, seven of these vacancies would have gone to Muslims. In March 1946 seven more posts of District Registrars were created by bifurcation of the clubbed districts and creation of a fresh post and the sanctioned strength of the District Registrars cadre rose from 25 to 32. Even if the principle of communal ratio were to be applied there should be five Muslim District Registrars, but there are actually only three working now because one of the four

[Abdul Latif Farookhi Sahib Bahadur] [10th March 1947]

3-45
P.m.

Muslims working in the year 1934 retired. Hence two more Muslims should have been appointed. But, Sir, Government neglected altogether the claims of the Muslims. In the Medical Department after July 1946 till 18th February 1947—I am glad the Hon. Public Health Minister is here—43 appointments of Temporary Civil Assistant Surgeons were made but not a single Muslim was taken in. I do not think the Hon. Minister for Medical and Public Health will have the courage to assert that qualified Muslims are not available to fill these posts. Instances of such injustice to Muslims in various departments of public service can be multiplied.

“And, Sir, there are Muslims in the waiting lists for these appointments but their claims have been ignored.”

“Sir, I do not think, I need say much now about salaries. There is a resolution on this subject which was moved in this House and I have finished half my speech on that resolution.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ Oh ! ”

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ I shall finish it on another non-official day.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ You mean your speech on the resolution, I am sorry.”

THE HON. SRI K. BHASHYAM :—“ It seems he is threatening us with a long speech on that occasion.”

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ Sir, I need only add a few sentences to impress upon the Ministry the need for increasing the salaries of the teachers, the peons, the daffadars and the salaries of so many other people who on account of these hard days are not able to maintain their families. Sir, I read only two or three days back a report in the Press that the constables in the city have not received their salaries. I do not know what understanding has been arrived at. But this only goes to show the discontent among the people and their difficulties. It is not that they are opposed to the Ministry, it is not that they are opposed to the party which is in power, but it is because they feel they are helpless on account of the increase in the cost of living. Therefore, I suggest that a sympathetic attitude should be adopted with regard to these people. Sir, with regard to head constables I am afraid that even in the revised scale there is no provision made for them. Without being opposed to the salaries that are now given to the European sergeants I will bring to the notice of the Hon. Minister in charge of the department, namely, the Hon. the Premier, that the Indian sergeants are not kept so far as their salaries are concerned on a par with the salaries that are given to the European sergeants.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ If you have any more points remaining, you may pass them on to Dr. Tajuddin.”

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ I have only one or two more points to deal with, Sir, and I shall finish.”

10th March 1947] [Abdul Latif Farookhi Sahib Bahadur]

" I shall now come to the betting on horses. I am thankful to the Hon. the Premier for not providing for the tax on betting this year. You are aware, Sir, that I gave notice of moving a Bill with regard to that and I do not want this credit for myself. The Government was pleased to publish a Bill and if that Bill is passed in this House and the other House, the public of Madras will be very grateful to the Ministry because it is a very important measure to save the poor people of this Province. It is as necessary as Prohibition, Sir. (An hon. Member: 'Oh!') Therefore I express my thanks to the Hon. the Premier. But I have to strike a note of caution with regard to this. Sir, the Bill has been circulated and I have been repeatedly asked by the department whether I should like to withdraw my Bill in view of the fact that the Government have published a Bill. I would certainly . . . "

MR. PRESIDENT :—" You repeatedly refused."

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I repeatedly refused; certainly, because of the fact that this Government is sometimes accustomed to publish Bills which they do not perhaps intend to bring before the Legislature. I do not want again to refer to some of the Bills which have been published and which have yet to see the light of day in this House or even in the other House. Therefore I would request the Hon. the Premier to see that this Bill is passed. Sir, it was very easy for the Hon. the Premier to have got it passed in one day; he could have moved it and all the three readings would have been gone through and the Bill would have become law in one day. The same thing can be said with regard to the other Bills which have been circulated. You know and the Members of this House know that it is perhaps due to the fact . . . "

MR. PRESIDENT :—" There are good reasons for deciding not to go on with the Bill."

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I do not know, Sir, there may be people in the inner circle of the Government who know that there are good reasons, but so far as I am concerned I am outside and I do not know what the reasons are. I do not know why these Bills have to be suppressed and I am only afraid that the Betting Bill also may share the same fate."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I think you must finish soon."

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" I would like the Hon. the Premier to say that this Bill will be introduced soon."

" I will now conclude only in a few sentences, Sir. (Laughter.) Sir, the conclusion is important and it is so on account of the changed circumstances. The Hon. the Premier has taken legitimate pride in regard to the communal unity that is being maintained in this Province. We are only thankful to him. Sir, but

[10th March 1947]

[Abdul Latif Farookhi Sahib Bahadur]

it would have been more graceful if the Hon. the Premier had also stated that for this communal unity the leaders of the Muslim League and chiefly the Hon. Leader of the Opposition in the other House, Mr. Muhammad Ismail Sahib, is also responsible. Sir, it was the joint statement to which His Excellency also referred, of the Hon. the Premier and the Hon. Leader of the Opposition in the other House, Mr. Muhammad Ismail Sahib, which has served a long way to maintain that unity in this Province which we all desire and long cherish from the bottom of our hearts."

MR. PRESIDENT:—"I think the Hon. the Prime Minister said so in some other occasion though not on the budget."

* ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I am only referring to the budget, Sir. Now the conditions have changed. The All-India Congress Working Committee has passed a resolution that the Punjab should be split up. I would request the Hon. the Premier to bring to the notice of the All-India Congress Working Committee that we in this House, namely, the Muslim League with which the Hon. the Premier must naturally agree, feel that when there is a division of the Punjab, there seems to be no reason why India should not be divided if that is necessary and if that is in the interests of humanity in this country and the harmonious relationship between the Hindus and Muslims. I do not see why we should stick to formalities. We can simply say that we are agreeable to that. If we only say that I do not think any differences will exist. But in spite of the differences that are there, our Province is unique in having that unity. As I said on many other occasions both in this House and in other places outside, this unity should be copied by people in other Provinces. Therefore, I feel that it is necessary for us to say through this House that Hindus and Muslims should live together and circumstances should be created willy-nilly by the leaders, particularly the leaders of the majority party to disabuse the minds of the minorities, not only the Muslim minority but other minorities, of any suspicions that they may entertain. Dr. Sir Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar referred to coalition Ministries. Sir, we are not anxious to be in the ministries. Whether we are in the Ministry or not I would request that justice should be done to all. Sir, let me pay my humble tribute to the Justice Party which was in power in this Province. Whatever might have been the differences between the Brahmans and the Non-Brahmans or between the Justice Party and the Congress Party, there was some balance maintained on account of the Justice Party and there was some justice done to the Muslims and minorities. I would therefore request the Congress Ministry to infuse the confidence which was there in our minds on account of the existence of the Justice Party and assure us that our rights will be safeguarded and that there will be no encroachment on our liberties and that we, the minorities, will always have the sympathetic support and generous treatment from the majority party."

10th March 1947]

* SRI D. MANJAYA HEGDE :—“ Sir, I thank you for 4 p.m . giving me an opportunity to state my views on the budget. The budget of this year has come out, exhibiting the strong hand behind it. The Hon. the Premier has been ever frank and straight and that outspoken frankness and straightforwardness can be discerned in the budget. I do not in the least fail to express my esteem and regard for the Premier and for some of the merits of the budget.

“ The present Government's nation-building schemes and plans such as the revival of cottage industries, the provision made for the extension of compulsory elementary education, encouragement to Indian medicine and multitude of other helpful things deserve compliments. The Ministry would have certainly passed many other measures, if funds permitted. But the financial position is not sound and the present Government is not free from criticism for its financial policy. The budget though apparently a surplus budget, is really a deficit one. But for the amount drawn from the Reserve Fund, it would have been very difficult to balance the budget.

“ In introducing wide reforms and big plans, the Government did not come to its finance partly due to the huge sum of money in the Reserve Fund which was preserved for some other purposes, and partly due to the hopes of taxing the people further. They ought to have realized that people are already groaning under the burden of various taxes and overtaxing would bring nothing less than great displeasure and dissatisfaction among their subjects. Such is the state of administration of the present Government which is called popular Government.

“ Instead of lessening the burden of taxation which the present administrators openly declared unlawful, while others were conducting the Government the present regime finds rather a pleasure to go on levying new taxes and enhancing the existing ones such as the tax on petrol and the entertainment tax, which is really creating a setback in the cultural side of the people, and lastly the proposed agricultural income-tax which will certainly ruin the agricultural class.

“ The introduction of prohibition on a large scale, suddenly, has brought the Government at once near to bankruptcy, which would have certainly been averted by introducing prohibition gradually, step by step. But the Government, it must be told, lacked patience and foresight and hence the present deplorable condition of the State finance.

“ With the loss of revenue, the Government naturally lost the enthusiasm and interest to give due attention to the present urgent needs of the people, facilities for food, cloth, health and education, and the maintenance of highways, and other communications and all-round development of villages by providing elementary education, village roads, sanitation and proper medical aid which are the basic need for better life in the rural areas. .

[Sri D. Manjaya Hegde]

[10th March 1947]

" The proposal of the Government as to the nationalizing of motor bus and lorry services is sure to deprive people of their private enterprises. On the other hand, by permitting bus and lorry services to private agencies, the Government could improve the conditions of traffic and commerce without incurring extra expenditure.

" The village and taluk food committees established under the new regime suffer for want of strict supervision. Village factions and quarrels are the chief results. Procurement is slow and less. In South Kanara, procurement during this part of the year is far less when compared with the procurement for the last year. This is partly due to the selfishness of the food committees and partly due to the lack of vigilant supervision by the Government officials. Attempts must be made to improve the conditions of these committees.

" The much criticized textile policy of the present Government should be revised in the interest of the public. Instead of providing cloth easily and cheaply to the already half-naked people at large, the Government has created scarcity of cloth. Khadi scheme seems to be more idealistic than practical. People should not be coerced to adopt what is against their will. Whatever may be the merits and demerits of such scheme, the Government should drop such measures in the interest of the public.

" The activities of the Firka Development Scheme are not yet known to the public though it is nearly a year since the scheme was adopted. It is one of the schemes that goes to the improvement of the rural areas. The Government ought to give equal attention to the needs of villages by providing elementary education by opening new schools where there are no schools, by improving village communications, by constructing new roads and bridges, by improving the health of people in the interior rural parts by providing more dispensaries without which all-round development of villages cannot be expected. So I appeal to the Government to provide more money for the new roads, schools, and more dispensaries in the villages whose salvation is the salvation of the nation.

" I regret much to bring to the notice of the Government the indifferent attitude of the Government towards the anti-malaria work that should have been taken up long ago in some villages in Puttur taluk, South Kanara district, where the malaria research work has already been completed by the Government two years ago. So I request the Government to sanction the anti-malaria work soon in that area to the great relief of malaria-stricken people.

" Lastly I suggest to Government to drop the agricultural income-tax proposal now under contemplation in the interest of the agricultural class. By the proposed tax, the landholders are discouraged to improve their lands. Further, the tenants who depend upon their landlords cannot get help in cattle, money, etc., for improvement of the lands. Hasty legislation should not

10th March 1947]

[Sri D. Manjaya Hedge]

be undertaken without making elaborate and regular enquiry. By this measure the Grow More Food campaign will certainly be retarded. Therefore I appeal to the Government not to put further taxation on the agricultural class which is already overburdened with various kinds of taxes. It is a great pity that the party in power is suffering from internal factions. I wish the present Government will see right things done at right times in spite of some bad atmosphere prevailing within the party which I hope will vanish soon."

* SRI C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR :—" Mr. President, Sir, I really did not want to participate in the budget discussion. I have not even gone closely into the budget proposals; still having watched the proceedings here for the last three days I think I must also participate in the debate. The Government have in the budget made provision for the improvement of khaddar, village industries, rural uplift, Harijan uplift and for all constructive activities. The Government have also made provision for the educational needs of the country, for introducing compulsory elementary education. It is all good, so far as it goes. But, Sir, my own feeling is that the education that is sought to be given and as it has been going on till now is not the right type of education. Whether it is elementary education or education in the University, it is not of the right sort. That has been my feeling and that has been the feeling also of many educationists. There have been in the air several schemes for the improvement of the educational system of the land. Special officers were appointed to enquire and report on the right type of education that should be given to the people. They have all reported, but still, Sir, I do not know whether their reports have all been consigned to the Secretarial archives. The old system of education is still continuing, the system which has not been of much use to us. We have been very much spoiled by the Western system of education, by the present system of education. You may say that this education has created very many big men, honest men and men of character. True, Sir, I admit, but with the generality of educated, it has failed. It has not improved the general stamina and character of the educated people. That is my view. Recently basic education, education based on crafts, has been devised. The Zahir Hussain system of education it used to be called or the Wardha system of education. That system of education was conducted in several Provinces in North India when Congress Ministries were last in office. Kashmir also has introduced that system of education and it has been going on for the last 5 or 6 years. Madras has tried to do it, but has not done it so far.

" A training school was started by the last Congress Ministry, but when the Congress Ministry went out of office, that school was abolished. Even now, after the last budget no effort seems to have been made to train teachers for starting basic education. Even in basic education, there is pre-basic education, basic education and post-basic education. The child has to be educated from 5 years to 14 years in the three stages of education in the mother-tongue

[Sri C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar] [10th March 1947]

of the child. The Government must devote more attention to this kind of basic education and allot more funds for starting training schools for teachers who will start giving this kind of education based on crafts. A kind of education must be devised which will improve the character of the child. That must be the kind of education that must be given. I now leave that subject and go on to village uplift.

“ Khaddar is an important item of the constructive programme. Much was said in this House for the past few days about the khaddar industry and about the mill policy of the Government of Madras. It was said that khaddar was rough, not nice, and that the cost of khaddar was high and that we can get very fine mill cloth at cheap rates. All that was said. Sir, we got our mills only recently after the advent of the British Government. Before the British Government came into the field, before the East India Company came to this land, we were also wearing cloth, very decent and nice cloth. There were no mills in those days, but only hand-spinning and hand-weaving were going on in the country. India was producing khadi cloth out of handspun yarn and the whole country of 40 crores—probably there were not 40 crores then but only 30 crores—were clad in khadi.”

K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ In those days, your requirements were small.”

SRI C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR :—“ No, not at all. If you see the dubashes and the big-wigs of those days, of the East India Company days, they were wearing long coats, double-breasted coats and double-sized coats ! ”

K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ Not all of them.”

SRI C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR :—“ It is not correct to say that their requirements were small. All the 30 crores of Indians were clad in khadi and there was a surplus which the East India Company took away from the country and sold it at great profit. The East India Company merchants purchased khadi from this country, took it to their country and sold it at a high profit.”

K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ There was no machinery then. There were no motor cars then.”

* SRI C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR :—“ It is unnecessary that because we travel in motor cars, because we fly in the air, we must have machine-made cloth.”

DR. SYED TAJUDDIN SAHIB :—“ Why not ? ”

* SRI C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR :—“ Why not ? If you are so minded, you are free to use it. But the present Government is minded otherwise. They want to improve khadi and restore it to its greatness of its early days. If khadi is to be developed, if you are asked to spin and weave and wear your own cloth . . . (K. Uppi Sahib Bahadur rose to interrupt and the hon. member speaking did not yield.) I do not want any interruption. The hon. member was not interrupted by anybody while he was speaking.”

10th March 1947]

MR. PRESIDENT :—" The hon. member will not interrupt the speaker hereafter."

* SRI C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR :—" Thank you, Sir. If khadi must be developed and has to be developed, mills must be controlled. The present Madras Government has not done anything wrong. They have not said that they will close down all the existing mills; they have only said that they would not allow any new mills to be started and any new spindles to be given for expansion. If mills have their spindles worn out, new spindles will be given. If mills are to be helped by the supply of spindles, by all means they will supply for the existing ones. They may run two or three shifts with the existing mills but no new mills and no new spindles for expansion is their policy."

K. T. M. AHAMED IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Why not? "

* SRI C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR :—" Why not? That is a matter of opinion. That is the policy of the Government. Much of the difference of opinion arises only from a misunderstanding of the position of the Madras Government and that is : " No new mills and no new spindles for expansion, but spindles will be given for replacement and 2 shifts and 3 shifts can be worked."

ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" We are glad that the misunderstanding has been removed."

* SRI C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR :—" Good, I am glad. You are all glad that the Madras Government has not been successful in carrying out its policy because the Central Government has said that inasmuch as the Provincial Government have agreed to take the spindles and the Central Government have promised to give the spindles, it is no longer possible to go back upon it. True, but all this has been done not by the Congress Government, but by the Advisers' Government. They ordered the spindles and the bureaucratic Government at the centre agreed to send them. Somehow or other the present Interim Government says that we cannot go back upon the orders of the previous Government. Very well, Sir, even then I do not know what the Madras Government is going to do even if they have to agree to take the spindles already ordered. But I assure you, Sir, we must carry out the policy of the Madras Government in controlling the mills and stopping future expansion. The spindles ordered for may be accepted, but no order for new spindles will be placed hereafter. That will be the position as I envisage. That is my individual opinion. It is not the policy of the present Ministry. We have to submit to the Central Government's hukum. The Madras Government should not hereafter order for any new spindles or allow the erection of new mills. I would like to say that already the existing mills are not able to get the necessary cotton from the cotton cultivated in this country. They have to import cotton from Egypt. If villages take to khadi under the Madras Government's Khadi Scheme, they would want more cotton. If 27 new mills are to be started

[Sri C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar] [10th March 1947]

in this Province and more spindles are to be given to the existing mills, where are they to get the cotton from? Is the Madras Government going to order that all the paddy fields should be converted into cotton fields? Then, what about food production? Will the Madras Government rely upon imports of foodstuffs from foreign countries for ever and ever? Are they going to import rice from Rangoon and what is called the 'glass rice' from Brazil? Are we going to depend upon foreign countries for our food products? Certainly not. If you start more and more mills and convert all your paddy fields into cotton fields, how are you going to spend it? In ancient days, even by hand-spinning our people produced khadi, wore it, and also sold it to foreign countries. When new mills are started and all the mills produce cloth, can all of it be worn by the people in the country? We will have to capture foreign markets. Is that the policy of the Madras Government? Is that the policy of the Congress Party? No. We want world peace. We want to be the harbingers of world peace in this land. No more land could be captured either by India or by any other country to advance her trade. As such, we cannot encourage mills. Khadi alone must be encouraged and we must make self-sufficiency possible in this land with regard to it. Similarly, with regard to other rural industries, we must create self-sufficiency. For none of the articles which we can manufacture in this country, should we rely upon foreign imports. Foreign imports should be taboo except in respect of things which we cannot make in this country. We can allow foreign imports only of such articles, manufactured or raw, in which we are not self-sufficient. That is the constructive programme. There is no use ridiculing the constructive programme, the Khadi Scheme, or the mill policy of the Government. It has to come one day or other. The Central Government itself, when it becomes the people's Government in July 1948, as I envisage, will take up the Khadi Scheme and the mill policy. They will develop the Khadi Scheme. I should like to say that the Congress is not at all against heavy industries. The Congress has appointed a National Planning Committee. They have planned for national industries, heavy industries, chemical industries, key industries or whatever you may call them. Industries which cannot be decentralized and carried on in villages will no doubt be left to mills and big factories. For instance, you cannot make railway engines or wagons or passenger coaches or motor cars or aeroplanes in decentralized village industries. These industries will of course be factory industries. Such industries as can be decentralized and carried into the villages must be developed as village industries on a decentralized basis. We can produce several articles in the villages. In Switzerland, I understand, that many parts of the Swiss watches are made in the villages with the aid of electric current. When all the villages in this Province get electricity, such industries can be developed and improvement in agriculture is also possible. With the help of electricity, we can even manufacture delicate parts of watches in the homes of the ryots. Agriculture nowadays is not a paying industry. It is not at all paying, though the prices fixed by the Government are not low. Last year, I was complaining that the

10th March 1947] [Sri C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar]

prices fixed for paddy and other articles were very low. But this year, after the rains, I do not wish to complain that the prices are very low, as they are good enough. Yet, agriculture is not paying, because wages have risen, the prices of cattle have risen. Agricultural implements are nowhere to be got. Manures are not available, though the Agricultural department may say that they are procuring and supplying enough. Being a villager myself and residing in the midst of villagers, I know because many villagers come and complain that they are not getting manure. Because agricultural industry is not paying, villagers tend to vacate their villages and go to towns. We have always been creating towns and destroying villages. Several times I have visited every village in the Chingleput district, and several villages in the other districts of Tamil Nad. Everywhere, if you go into the villages, the houses are dilapidated, and you cannot find men residing in them. It is now time that the Congress Government must direct their attention to the villages. People must be convinced that living in villages will pay them. Additional village industry, besides agriculture, alone will pay them. Agriculture is heavily taxed. In no other part of the country is the land revenue so heavy as in South India. Hon. Members opposite and responsible Ministers have said that the incidence of land revenue is very heavy in South India. That is why the last Congress Government, as soon as they came into office, reduced land revenue by 70 lakhs of rupees in this Province. No doubt the Interim Government planned it in the first instance knowing full well that the Congress Government were going to come. The Interim Government started it, but the Congress Government completed it. We had the benefit of the reduction for three years. As soon as the Advisers' Government came, they stopped the reduction. Now the Congress Government have come. You have not taken any steps to reduce land revenue in this Province to the old Congress Government's level. You are still keeping it at the Advisers' Government's level. You are planning to impose tax on agricultural incomes. I do not object to agricultural incomes being taxed. The incidence of land revenue must be fair and equitable. Rich men, no doubt, may be taxed heavily, but you must find some basis. But to continue land revenue at the prevailing high rate and at the same time to impose a tax on agricultural incomes is not just. You must abolish land revenue altogether and then tax the rich people to any extent you like on the basis of agricultural income. For small landholders, you may impose either sales-tax on the sale of agricultural produce or a small land revenue as in Travancore State. The Travancore State is now planning to impose a tax of one rupee or fourteen annas per acre. That would be a fair thing.

"With regard to food administration, what shall I say? No doubt the Government have done very well. But you are helpless, you are the victims of the Government officials who have been continued for a long time even before the Ministers came in. In the city as well as in the mufassal, there are corruption and bribery. Mr. Abdul Latif Farookhi read out extracts from some books about

[Sri C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar] [10th March 1947]

black-marketing and corruption. It is true corruption and black-marketing are there. In the last Budget, the Premier promised us that he would put down corruption in six months. Now we are in the eleventh month, and still it tends to increase. That is the position. Traders' associations are openly issuing memoranda saying that the Textile department is corrupt, that they are black-marketing and that they could not help it. They send me the memoranda though I am not a Minister. There are advocates to support the merchants. Our friend Mr. Venkataswami Nayudu said that the South Indian Chamber of Commerce was doing very well in the matter. I do not want to enter into the controversy whether they are doing very well or ill. The fact remains that corruption and black-marketing are there. Corruption thrives only when people give bribes. If people don't give bribes, there will be nobody to take bribes. The giver has to be blamed more than the taker. The Government have fixed the price of gur and brown sugar at Rs. 75 per *baram*. I hear that the control was removed recently. The retail merchants do not get at the rate of Rs. 75, but only at Rs. 125 or so. The bigger merchants issue a receipt for Rs. 75 only, though they charge Rs. 125. Thus the retail merchants, who give Rs. 50 more than the controlled price, double the controlled price and sell it to the public. The controlled price of groundnuts oil is Rs. 202 per *baram*. But the retail merchant has to give Rs. 250 to purchase a *baram* of groundnut oil. The Government have allowed big capitalists like Ralli Brothers and others to export groundnut oil to foreign lands."

MR. PRESIDENT:—"May I take it that the hon. Member will finish in five minutes more?"

* SRI C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR:—"Yes, Sir, I will curtail all other subjects I wish to speak about, and finish in five minutes."

4-30
p.m.

"Groundnut oil is not available here. Yet, groundnut oil is allowed to be exported. The Ministry has extended the period of export by 20 days. The wholesale merchants are purchasing it for exorbitant rates. The local merchants also have to purchase at exorbitant rates. Similarly we are not able to get the things we want. Some of these controlled articles go underground. They are nowhere to be seen. All these things such as dhall, greengram and blackgram are not available. They are available only in the black-market. They sell at Rs. 1-12-0, Rs. 1-8-0 and Rs. 2. The control prices are 12 annas, 14 annas and 8½ annas. That is the position. What is the use of this control? You must control things well. Control is good. Control may be continued for a long time and for ever and ever. It is bad if things are not controlled well, if your officers are corrupt and if there are black-markets. In such cases, remove all control. I know Horlicks was not available sometime before, because it was controlled. Control was removed and they are selling it openly now. Sometimes it was sold at Rs. 8 and Rs. 10. If you remove control on any article, it is available. Control of motor cars has been removed. The price of motors has risen. The control price is of course there. But the dealers want

10th March 1947] [Sri C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar]

Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000 more. Men in need of cars and who have money, purchase cars at the highest prices. People who have extra cash by corruption can pay Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000 more if they are in need of cars. For some time this will go on. If there are no purchasers, then the price of motor cars will go down. Similarly with every control. It is imperative that the Government should remove all controls, and abolish all the control departments. They can thus save lot of rupees; they can save a lot of salaries and travelling allowances and rent for office premises. (An hon. member : ' Without fixing ceiling prices. ') Ceiling prices are fixed. But are things sold at ceiling prices? By all means, fix ceiling prices. Appoint a few officers and see if the ceiling prices are adhered to. These officers must be above board. They must not also join the merchants. I want somehow or other that this corruption should go, the black-market should go. Consumers must be able to get things sufficiently.

" One another matter. Much criticism was made about the producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies, about the interests of merchants, of merchant clerks, etc. I received a memorandum from merchants; they say that their interests are suffering. These producer-cum-consumer societies are democratic organizations, popular organizations. While the people themselves are shareholders, whatever benefit or profit is derived, it will go back to the people themselves. The consumers must get the profit of the societies. Is that good? Is it right that a particular or single merchant, however efficient he may be and whatever may be the capital he may have invested, should take away all the profits? Are the Government tabooing these merchants from becoming shareholders of these societies? These merchants say that they are the only people who have experience of business. If the merchants join the consumer societies they can help in the successful working of these societies, and get their proper share along with other shareholders. This kind of getting huge profits by black-market may also go if they come and join these societies. No prohibition. Neither Hon. Ministers nor the members of co-operative societies prohibit anybody from joining the consumer societies. Merchant clerks are complaining that their living is gone. Co-operative societies are started to take the place of merchants; these merchant clerks will be employed by these societies. They can seek employment in these societies. Their full experience may be used by the co-operative societies. Co-operative societies and people must be benefited. Black-market must be put down. We do not want the merchants to commit harikeri or suicide. We do not want merchants to trade in black-market or make huge profits at the expense of the consumer. Let merchants come and join the co-operative societies, and share the profits. They can use their experience in running the societies, amass profits and share them with the consumers."

* K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Mr. President, Sir, I thought that you would call upon me to speak to-morrow."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" There may not be much time to-morrow; therefore the hon. member can speak to-day."

[10th March 1947]

* K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ I thought that you made separate allotment of time for the Hon. Premier and the Leader of the Opposition. I am not complaining. However, as you have called on me to speak, I shall do so. Yesterday morning a friend of mine put in my hand a paper ; when I looked at it, I saw a funny cartoon. I think my Hon. Friend, the Premier, also might have seen it. In that paper I saw that the Hon. Premier was standing like a giant with some pigmies near his feet trying to get up on his shoulders. It really depicted a real character. Certainly the Hon. Premier under the circumstances is a giant. His courage, his tenacity of purpose and his broad-mindedness are admirable. I know Mr. Prakasam and Mr. Prakasam knows me for many years. The gentleman who had drawn that picture, has drawn it correctly. I admire him. The Hon. Premier is surrounded—as a poet said—by cannons on the right, cannons on the left, cannons in front of him, etc. Still unconcerned and smiling, he is sitting there. It is really enviable. I would like that I had an iota of that courage. Smaller men certainly would have succumbed ; many have succumbed, have turned tail and run away, at the very sight of the storm. So hereafter Hon. Mr. Prakasam will be careful in his selections of his lieutenants. He has tenacity of purpose and persistency. Having said this, I must say that I do not agree with his steam-hammer policy crushing everybody in this Province. Let me review the work that has been done by this Congress Government. First of all this food control experiment was started in Malabar. The Congress Government started first the producer-consumer societies in Malabar. The result of it is that it swept away all the grain merchants, big and small, from the field of their avocations. They are thinking of sacking cloth merchants, from the producer down to the village retailer. Now, the zamindars, the janmis of Malabar, the mill-owner, cloth merchants and retailers are waiting anxiously to see what will be their fate to-morrow. The poor man is waiting ; he has every reason to be uneasy, on account of such Acts as have been enacted only yesterday. What other Bills are up in their sleeves, God and this Government alone know.

4-45
p.m.

“ Having said this, let me come to the Budget. I do not wish to detain the House for a long time. I wish to say that the Budget is a squandering Budget. Huge sums are provided for imaginary purposes the effect of which is only imaginary. Nobody except the Congress Government of this Province and their supporters says that any good will come from the sum of Rs. 4 crores which is provided to be spent on khaddar and village reconstruction. Mr. President, just now the previous speaker here was referring to khaddar and said that India was producing khaddar from time immemorial and that India was providing all the cloth required for her population from time immemorial. Sir, it might be true ; nobody can deny that. India was providing so many other things for her whole population from time immemorial, but those days are gone. Then the needs of the people regarding cloth were very small. Now times have changed. However much you may wish to go back

10th March 1947]

[K. Uppi Sahib Bahadur]

to that period you cannot, because it will not be possible for anybody in this world to push back India to that by-gone ages. Mr. President, you know, at the time of the Industrial Revolution in England what all things had taken place, how many revolutions had taken place, how many people had lost their property and their lives, and how people rose in revolt against machinery. But still people had to yield to the inevitable. You will not deny that India is part of the world and in this year of grace 1947, it is impossible for India to shut herself out from the rest of the world. Now-a-days you want motor cars; you want aeroplanes; you want telephones; you want all sorts of modern machineries and you want heavy chemicals for industries. My hon. Friends on the opposite side also want all these things except textile machines. Will it be possible to shut out textiles alone coming into this country, when you want all other things? You want all the comforts of modern science, all machines, etc., from other countries. If you allow other countries to bring in those things here, they know how to bring textile goods also along with others. Are you going to declare war against America or against England or against Russia? They have got all the heavy chemicals; they have all the engineering machinery and ever so many other materials which we may take years for us to produce here. For all those things we must depend upon them. If we allow to bring these things here, they will bring certainly cloth also. Then how are you going to prevent it? Sir, I am not a lawyer; I am not a scientist, I am a layman, a villager. I ask, will it be possible for you to sustain this production of khaddar? It may be possible now, because there is a dearth of cloth in the country. People want cloth. And so you say 'You must spin, you must weave, you must bleach' and so on. Because we are not going to have cloth, you may do this for one, two or three years. Even to put the scheme into operation, it will take two or three years for you. Things are not going to happen as you wish to-morrow morning merely by words. You have to carry on propaganda in the villages; you have to teach them spinning and weaving. The people require time to practice to produce yarn fit for weaving into cloth fit for wearing. It took months for me to produce some kind of yarn out of which one could weave some cloth. I ask the Hon. the Premier himself, 'Suppose a man practices spinning for one month, what will be the count of yarn that he will be able to produce?' Can he tell me? It will be of about 7 to 10 counts, but certainly not of more than 14 counts. What is it fit for? Can my hon. friend over there tell me? It is only fit for making chord or coir. To produce yarn of 30 or 40 counts by hand-spinning, would take months. You will have to train all these people for months. They say that if one crore of people spin, then only could this Province become self-sufficient in the matter of cloth. By that time, that this one crore is trained, it will be two or three years and things will certainly change by then and there will be plenty of cheap cloth, better cloth and cloth of finer variety. Do you think that people are going to take to this afterwards when they will get better and cheap cloth? Therefore this money you are spending

[K. Uppi Sahib Bahadur]

[10th March 1947]

will be merely a waste; Sir, I say to the Government that you are unnecessarily creating opposition and trouble in the land. You are trying to force your fad on the people of the Province. I do not believe in khaddar. You want me to spin, to weave and to wear khadi, because you do it, because somebody believes in it. Is it not forcible conversion, I ask? To force one's faith on another is resented and opposed as forcible conversion. Here is a Government which says "we believe in khadi". So I too should have faith in it and do a work in which I have no faith. You say, 'Go on, do it, otherwise you will not get cloth.' If this is not forcible conversion, nothing else is. Sir, I say that the three crores you are spending on this scheme is nothing but a huge waste of public money.

"Then Sir, let me come to the producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies. Sir, I come from a constituency, on behalf of whose members I can speak with greater knowledge than anybody else in this House, except perhaps Mr. Madhava Menon. What do they say about these producer-cum-consumers? Mr. President, to-day we heard an eminent speech from an eminent member of this House and he has put his case like a doctor. He examined the patient, diagnosed his disease, showed it to him and prescribed the medicine like a true doctor. Yesterday, my hon. Friend over there, Mr. Suryanarayana Rao, most eloquently and in very lucid language, explained to us what co-operation is, how co-operative societies ought to work, what are the defects of these producer-cum-consumers and how they are going to be worked, and what use they are going to be to the people, etc. As a matter of fact, from the very beginning I believed and I have been telling so, that these producer-cum-consumers are not co-operative societies. They are worked as a sort of limited companies. As my hon. Friend Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar this morning rightly pointed out, both the tiger and the lamb are made to sit at the same table, to eat and to work together. That is the position. Now when that scheme was placed before this House, the Hon. Premier told us that the object of the scheme was to prevent middlemen exploiting the poor people, and to save both the producer and the consumer. So far as Malabar is concerned, I ask the Hon. Premier, whether anybody has been benefited to a single pie. No, Sir; I say emphatically, no. Last year when the distribution of food-grains was through these ration shops and through wholesale grain merchants, the price of paddy paid to the producer was Rs. 1-5-0. This year also he is getting only that Rs. 1-5-0. These societies have not taken into consideration the increase in wages paid to the workers within this period. Sir, wages have considerably increased and cultivation expenses have also greatly increased in Malabar during this one year. But the cultivator gets only the same amount. And then what is the position as regards the consumer? The price at which food-stuffs are sold to the consumer is the same as last year. But then these co-operative societies make a clean profit of Rs. 1-2-8 per bag. Sometimes even more I do not know how many Madras measures it will hold per bag, but it is 50 seers

10th March 1947] [K. Uppi Sahib Bahadur]

of the place, according to the ration measure it is 70 measures. On 70 measures they are making a profit of Rs. 1-10-8 in one transaction. That works out at about 21 per cent profit. They are making 21 per cent in one transaction. How many turnover there will be within one month, Sir, within one month and 14 days, with a capital of about Rs. 7,00,000, they have made a clean profit of about Rs. 22,000. Within one year, how much turnover there will be? At the rate of Rs. 22,000 in 1½ months, they will be able to make 8 times that amount, that is to say, the societies will be making a profit of Rs. 1,76,000. It is about 300 per cent. Is this how the consumers are benefited by these societies? Is it not exploitation of people with permission of Government? It is said that they are working in the interests of the consumers. I say 5 p.m. neither the consumer nor the producer is benefited by the societies. It is said that the shareholders are to get 6½ per cent only out of this fabulous profit. Are all the consumers and producers of a firka shareholders of these producer *cum* consumers? No; only a small portion of the consumers, the producers are shareholders. But the whole inhabitants of the place are certainly consumers.

"These people are robbed with the consent of Government by the producer *cum* consumer societies. What about the profit? Only 6½ per cent will be given to shareholders? The Prime Minister has said the balance will be kept in reserve so that when times improve and business becomes normal, and others come into the field these huge amounts will be used for cut-throat competition which will kill all who may attempt to revive their avocation . . ."

AN HON. MEMBER :—"We do not understand what this amount is; is it profit on Rs. 80,000?"

* K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—"Yes."

MR. PRESIDENT :—"You have been listening to the hon. member. He says Rs. 80,000 brought in Rs. 30,000 in one and a half months' time; that there were eight turnovers in a year. The rest was all mathematics."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—"Which is the society?"

* K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—"Kuttuparamba society. I can give you the pamphlet; and you may take the Tellicherry and Tirur societies also. On the 8th March, the Government itself had issued a press note stating that fourteen societies have made 20 to 50 per cent profit within the first quarter.

"Sir, in Malabar, we Moplahs were the merchants; but of late others are also slowly coming into business. Still the main business, petty as well as wholesale business, is in the hands of Moplahs. Some fifteen or twenty years ago, the whole business was in the hands of Muslims. Now, with a wave of the hand, with a stroke of the pen, the Prime Minister, or rather the Madras Government, has swept us, Muslims, off this field of business.

[K. Uppi Sahib Bahadur] [10th March 1947]

This is the only business in which we were mainly engaged; we no doubt take to agriculture, but trade is our main business. As I said, the whole trade has been forcibly taken out of our hands in the villages, on account of these co-operative societies. I may tell you, Mr. President, and for the information of this House, that had it not been for the statesmanlike step the Hon. Premier took in going to Malabar and pacifying by assuring words this would have created a situation for which he and I would have been very sorry. Sir, we in Malabar were nervous as things were going out of our control. People were becoming desperate, especially in the interior, petty traders were becoming desperate when the co-operative society came and asked to close down their trade which was their mainstay. The Muslim Leaders pacified them for the time being and fortunately for Malabar, the Minister ran up to Malabar on a whirlwind tour. He spoke to them in very kind and reassuring words which pacified them. But I may say that discontent is still there, and they are still waiting, still anxiously asking us always 'what have you done, what are you going to do, you have been telling us that the Prime Minister would rectify matters. Nothing is seen.' That is the position even now."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM:—"But the Leaders have succeeded in the recent elections. That is the telegram received by the hon. Mr. Moideen Kutti of the other House."

* K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR:—"That is only in two places. The Muslims there were excluded; and even some officials were issuing demi-official letters that as far as possible the Muslim Leaguers should be excluded not only from the directorship, but also from the membership of the co-operative society itself. Mr. President, only just before I was coming here, an incident happened. In one of the amsams in my place, some people came hurriedly and anxiously to me and told me that in their village, where the Muslim population was in a majority there were four or five grain shops; all of the grain merchants were Muslims; but after these co-operative societies came into being, they were reduced to two; one of them was given to a Muslim salesman and the other to a Hindu. Allright, they said; and agreed. But with regard to the Hindu salesman, there was discontent. Both Hindus and Muslims joined in saying that he should not be there; they said it might be given to any other man, not to a Muslim but to any other Hindu; only that particular man they did not like. Mr. President, he was a paid servant of the society. But somehow or other the Taluk Supply Officer said: 'Allright, let both the shops be here; for the time being he will remove the Hindu, and we will appoint the man whom the local people want.' So, people were pacified. But after a month, what happened? The Muslim shopkeeper gets an order from the President of the Co-operative Society saying that he must hand over charge to the unwanted salesman of the other shop; then the people rose. The President of the Co-operative Society and some others went to

10th March 1947] [K. Uppi Sahib Bahadur]

the shop; the residents of the place resisted. This is not a Hindu-Muslim question. But both Hindus and Muslims of the locality assembled there, they resisted—and the President had to return. After two days, order came that charge should be handed over. In the meanwhile, I approached the Taluk Officer and told him everything. He stopped it; afterwards what happened I do not know. Then again you may see how Muslims are slowly removed from the entire field from. Salesmen were appointed both from among Hindus and Muslims, but later on, Muslims are removed for some reason or other in several shops. Though there is no Hindu-Muslim difference in Malabar, such acts are going to create unwholesome feelings. That is one thing.

“ There is another very serious grievance. You come to Malabar and see one of the village ration shops. You will see a very pathetic sight. Hundred or two hundred people assembling in the ration shop, mainly women and children, waiting to get the rations. Only those that are able to make their way through will be able to get the rations; the others will be standing from morning 8 to 11 or 12 o'clock and again from 2 or 3 to 8 o'clock in the night. Sometimes, they have to return home—poor women and children—without being able to get their rations. They are in this helpless condition, and they are actually cursing. I say, Sir, the curses of the poor people are to be more afraid of than all your thousand atom bombs.

“ Mr. President, having said all this, I must say I hear some reports that the Moplahs are now pleasantly co-operating. Sir, that is only a propagandist statement. Moplahs are waiting to see if the Premier would rectify things. Very often, people are getting excited. If anybody reports to the Premier that Moplahs are co-operating wholeheartedly, I warn the Premier not to take it seriously. It is misleading; the hon. Premier is under delusion that everything is allright. It is not so. I may tell you if you will not rectify matters anything may happen. What I say is: let the Premier see that everything is rectified as early as possible—I mean all these grievances.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ May I know when we will rise, Sir? ”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ As soon as Mr. Uppi Sahib finishes.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ I do not think he will finish to-day, Sir.”

K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—“ I may require another half an hour. Anyway I think I may be allowed to continue.”

AN HON. MEMBER :—“ Why not continue tomorrow, Sir: I think there is time enough for us.”

MR. PRESIDENT :—“ The question is this: tomorrow, if you exclude the question hour, we will have only just about two hours in the morning, between 12 noon and 1-30 p.m., or, even if

[Mr. President]

[10th March 1947]

we finish off our questions by 11-30 a.m., between 11-30 a.m. and 1-30 p.m. There are two other gentlemen, long-winded persons. (Laughter.) Perhaps, Mr. Sarma is there; but I would like to have the Premier after lunch. If Mr. Uppi Sahib . . ."

THE HON. SRI T. PRAKASAM :—" I think, Sir, we may rise now."

K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" The Members seem to be anxious to rise; and it will not be interesting to them to hear further speeches at this stage; minds get tired."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I hope you will finish in half an hour tomorrow."

The Council then rose, to meet again at 11 a.m. on the next day.

